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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION
DELHI — 1961

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PREFACE

The Proceedings Volume of the Delhi Session (1961) was to have been published in 1962 and was to have been distributed at the 25th Session, scheduled to be held at Poona in December 1962. But the printing work was slowed down because of the proclamation of national emergency and the postponement of the Session. The work was resumed about the middle of this year, as the political situation cleared up and it seemed possible to hold the Session in December.

A word of explanation is necessary about the selection of Papers included in the present Volume. Since it is the Proceedings Volume of a Session and not a regular journal, only those Papers which were actually read and discussed have been included. On this principle, many good Papers submitted but not actually read have been left out. Many members submit Papers but do not care to read them, even though they are present at the Session, on the assumption that their Papers will be taken as read and published in the Proceedings Volume. The new principle adopted will check this regrettable practice and will induce members who submit Papers to read them at the Sectional Meetings and take part in the discussion. This will undoubtedly improve the academic tone of the Sectional Meetings.

The Papers published have been arranged according to subject matter, as indicated in the Contents. For want of space, many good Papers could not be published in full, but only in a summary form. I can only wish that many of the Papers, of which only summaries have been given, could have been published in full. In presenting the Proceedings Volume to the readers, I may be pardoned for expressing a hope that it will win recognition from the world of historians as one more valuable contribution to historical research, in keeping with the past tradition of the Indian History Congress.

In spite of all efforts to go through the proofs with meticulous care, I am afraid, there must be some printing mistakes here and there, for which I tender my apology to the readers. I can assure them that those who helped me in editing the Papers and going through the proofs did everything that was possible under the circumstances. In this connection, I must thank Mr. Sailen Samanta and Mr. Dipak Sen for their kind help.

I take this opportunity to thank the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for their generous financial assistance for the publication of the Proceedings Volume.

Department of History,
University of Calcutta,
November 30, 1963

S. P. Sen
Secretary,
Indian History Congress.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. V. V. MIRASHI

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I must express my thanks to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the great honour they have conferred on me by asking me to preside over the deliberations of this learned Congress. When the decision was communicated to me, I was not a little surprised. History was not a subject of my study in my College career. I had also no occasion to teach it until I retired from the Education Department of my State. I am indeed interested in the history of my country, but I never imagined that I would be able to do any research work in it until my attention was directed to it nearly thirty years ago by my late lamented friend Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, during one of his visits to Nagpur. He not only pressed me to take to research work in the ancient history of our country but also placed some estampages of inscriptions in my State at my disposal for editing. But for his encouragement and help, I could have hardly done any work. On this occasion when you have done me the highest honour that a life-long student of history would aspire for, I have to pay my grateful tribute to the memory of the late Rao Bahadur, whose encouragement has inspired many persons like myself to devote themselves to research in this subject. It was with great diffidence that I accepted this high honour; for I am conscious of my own limitations. I shall therefore need the utmost indulgence from you. I have no doubt that it will be forthcoming in the fullest measure.

This is the twenty-fourth time that we are meeting together for deliberations on the problems of history. As you know, this Congress was ushered into existence on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona, in 1935. At first it was named All-India Modern History Congress, but it was soon realised that history cannot be divided into water-tight compartments according to periods. Consequently, the scope of the activities of this Congress was widened so as to include the study of all periods from the earliest times to the present day and it was renamed as the Indian History Congress. We have been meeting annually since 1938. Sometimes we meet twice a year, once at the session of this Congress and again at the session of the All-India Oriental Conference, which also has sections on History and Archaeology. Many of us are interested in both these learned Conferences and wish to attend the sessions of both. But sometimes this becomes very difficult when both the sessions are held at different places at the same time such as the X'mas holidays as was the case when the Oriental Conference was held in this historic city in 1957. There is also much duplication of work and the standard of research papers received at the two conferences suffers thereby. It is therefore felt by many that like the Oriental Conference, this Congress also should meet in alternate years. It should not be difficult to arrange by consultation with the authorities of the Oriental Conference that there should be one session of either the Indian History Congress or the Oriental Conference every year. This suggestion was made by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane in his Presidential address to the sixteenth session of this Congress in 1953, but I am told that it did not find favour with some people who thought it necessary to meet every year for expediting the publication of the History of India which the Congress had undertaken. Experience has, however, shown that this object is not achieved by annual sessions. For it more frequent meetings of the Publication Committee are necessary. I would therefore place once more the suggestion of holding its sessions biennially before the Congress for consideration.

This is a year of jubilation in the annals of Indian history. The Archaeological Department is celebrating its Centenary this year. A hundred years ago, in 1860, the Government of India decided to establish an Archaeological Department of Northern India in order to preserve the ancient monuments of that area. General Cunningham was appointed the first Archaeological Surveyor of India, the duty assigned to him being 'to make an accurate description of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them.' From this small beginning the Archaeological Department of India has grown to the high stature that it has at present. If our knowledge of India's history has gone back to 2500 years B. C., if it is possible now to write a fairly comprehensive history of the ancient period of this great sub-continent, the credit of it goes very largely to the Archaeological Department, which has worked incessantly for the purpose during the last hundred years. We felicitate the Department on this occasion for its splendid work and wish it a still more glorious future career in the service of the Country.

The Numismatic Society of India also celebrates its Golden Jubilee this year. Its beginning goes back to the 28th December 1910, when six persons interested in numismatics viz., Richard Burn, H. R. Nevill, R. B. Whitehead, H. N. Wright, F. J. Thanawala and George P. Taylor met at Allahabad and decided to form a Society for the encouragement and advancement of studies in Indian Numismatics and also for the coordination and promotion of researches in that direction. The papers read at the annual meetings and those contributed later were at first published in a Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but in 1939 the Society started its own Journal, which has been continuing uninterruptedly during the last twenty-two years. Due to the strenuous efforts of its distinguished editor, the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, it has attained a high renown. It has given a great fillip to the collection, study and publication of coins. Its work has met with wide recognition and it has received generous financial aid from the Central as well as some State Governments. We congratulate the Society for its meritorious work in the past and wish it all success in the future.

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations, working in collaboration with the India International Centre and this Congress, invited the Asian History Congress to hold its eleventh session here this year. From very early times India has had religious, cultural and trade contacts with the different countries of Western, Central and Eastern Asia, in some of which it established its cultural colonies. It is therefore in the fitness of things that a session of the Asian History Congress should be held here. It will give the much needed impetus to the study of the history of other Asian countries and thereby strengthen the bonds of friendship between India and those countries. It is also expected to throw welcome light on some dark corners of the history of India.

Latterly, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India has launched some very important projects. It has commenced an Archaeological Survey of the whole country such as had not been attempted before. The earlier Survey was carried on by General Cunningham for a number of years, but it was confined to North India and the Central Provinces. Its results have been published in the twenty-three volumes of his Survey Reports, which, in the words of Lord Curzon, constitute a noble mine of information in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil.' The Survey now undertaken will cover the whole country and is expected to bring to light many new archaeological sites. It was in the course of such an exploration that the prehistoric site of Lothal was discovered where recent excavation has proved so fruitful.

Another important project which the Department has undertaken is the Architectural Survey of ancient temples in North and South India. Architectural monuments have in the past been studied and described by many scholars such as Cunningham, Burgess, Fergusson, Cousens, Vogel, Bhandarkar and others, but their work was done in the light of western concepts of architecture. For the proper understanding of Indian temples a thorough study of Sanskrit works on Silpasastra is necessary. Fortunately a number of such texts have been published. The new Survey which has been entrusted to Mr. Krishna Dev for North India and Mr. Srinivasan for South India will be in the light of these indigenous Silpa texts. We are looking forward to the publication of their monographs on some important temples which are now going through the press.

Of late, the main activities of the Union Department of Archaeology have been concentrated on the excavation of prehistoric sites with a view to bridge the gulf that exists between the Harappan age and the beginning of the historical period. There have, indeed, been excavations at some historical sites also, but they are few and far between. The excavation of historical sites is apparently relegated to the Universities and the archaeological departments of the different States, many of which are still to come into existence. For a long time since its foundation the Archaeological Department excavated several historical sites such as Taxila, Vaisali, Bhita, Rajgir, Nalanda, Sanchi and others and added much to our knowledge of the historical period. Now the pendulum has swung to the other side. The Department has no doubt prepared a scheme of more than twenty volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum to cover the inscriptional records of the different dynasties that ruled in the historical period, but though more than ten years have since passed, not a single volume of it has appeared in print. Some of the contributors to whom volumes of the Series were assigned have since passed away and had to be replaced by others. But there has been no substantial progress so far. Even the Gupta Volume, which was handed over to the Department by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar after working on it for more than fifteen years has not yet seen the light of the day though more than ten years have passed since his sad demise. The need for it is, however, very keenly felt by the students of Gupta history. In view of it one enterprising publisher has undertaken the reprinting, by the photo process, of Fleet's old edition with all its mistakes and imperfections. It seems that there will be no progress in regard to the preparation and publication of the Corpus Volumes unless the Department appoints a Special Officer to look after this work, actively helps Contributors with estampages etc., and constantly urges them on to complete it. When the work of editing the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era for a volume of this Series was entrusted to me twenty-six years ago, I remember how actively the Department helped me. It not only asked the Government Epigraphist to supply available estampages of inscriptions to me but also placed at my disposal for a few days the services of an expert mechanic for getting some other inscriptions copied under my supervision. I was also requested to send periodical reports about progress in my work to the Department. We know from our experience in connection with the Volumes of the History of India undertaken by this Congress that unless there is constant urging, scholars, who have generally much work on hand, do not keep to their promise of sending their contributions by the time fixed.

There are several other ways in which the Archaeological Department could help scholars working on the historical period. Several volumes of the Epigraphia Indica have long been out of print. The need for them is greatly felt as the subject of Ancient Indian history is now introduced in many Universities in this country and for the study of it the volumes of that Series are indispensable. The Central Advisory Board of Archaeology of India recommended the reprinting of the first ten volumes of the Series. Accordingly, two volumes were printed last year, but they have not yet been put on the market as their prices have not been fixed!

Other works the need of which is keenly felt by students of ancient Indian history are comprehensive lists of the inscriptions of North and South India. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions which was published nearly twenty-five years ago, has now become out of date and needs careful revision and considerable addition as several new inscriptions have since been discovered and published. As regards South Indian inscriptions, the need of a comprehensive list is still greater. Kielhorn's list of these inscriptions which was published nearly sixty years ago has long since ceased to be serviceable and is also extremely difficult to obtain. Besides, since Kielhorn's time thousands of inscriptions have been discovered in the States of Madras, Mysore, Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Very few of these have been properly edited, many of them being known only from short notices in Epigraphical Reports and Reports of the Archaeological Surveys. *The Historical Inscriptions of South India* by Sewell and Aiyangar lists only records discovered till 1922. There is therefore an urgent need of a comprehensive list of South Indian inscriptions with genealogical and other details. Some years ago the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology recommended the compilation of such a list, but somehow the subject has been shelved. For this work the aid of competent scholars conversant with Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese and Marathi will be required. It will also entail heavy expenditure. It can be undertaken only by the Office of the Government Epigraphist which has scholars competent to deal with such records. That Office has recently brought the volumes of the Epigraphia Indica up to date. We hope it will undertake this work also and complete it successfully.

During the last thirty years our knowledge of the historical period has greatly increased. We have now monographs on the histories of most of the royal dynasties that flourished in the ancient period such as the Mauryas, the Satavahanas, the Guptas, the Palas, the Rashtrakutas, the Paramaras, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Pratiharas, the Maitrakas, the Senas, the Chaulukyas and others. In some cases we have more than one of these. For instance, we have three monographs on the history of the Chandellas and one more is in the offing. There is thus repetition of work which should be avoided. In some cases such duplication is due to want of knowledge about the subjects on which students are working in the different Universities. For some years the Inter-University Board circulated an annual bulletin giving information about the subjects of research on which work was being done in the Universities, but it has been discontinued long since. The U. G. C. now gives fellowships to students for doing research work in history as in other subjects. Many students are working on different problems of Indian history under the guidance of University Readers and Professors. There is thus an urgent need of co-ordination in research work. I was therefore glad to know that the Institute of Historical Studies, which has recently been established in Calcutta, has planned to publish a *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* which will give information *inter alia* about the subjects of research at the Universities and other research centres. There is, besides, much research work already done in the form of theses approved for research degrees, which is lying unpublished with the different Universities. The best of it can be made available with the help of the subvention which the U. G. C. grants for the purpose.

Latterly, the tendency has been to underrate such research work. We are advised not to build our history on kings and dynasties, wars and conquests, but to deal with it from the point of view of the evolution of the Culture of the Indian people. In the Comprehensive History of Humanity which the UNESCO has undertaken, all references to kings and their wars will be avoided as far as possible. None can deny the importance of cultural history, but a mere story of culture without reference to definite dates will be vague and misleading. Chronology is the steel-frame of history. For fixing that chronology it is very necessary to determine the approximate, if not the exact, periods of the reigns of kings; for in ancient times in all countries the king was the moving force. As a Sanskrit saying goes, '*Raja kalasya karanam*'. We can indeed appreciate the works of a great poet like Kalidas without knowing in what period and at whose court he flourished, but for obtaining a full measure of his genius it is very necessary to know the circumstances in which he produced his works, what royal patronage, if any, he obtained, who his predecessors were, how they influenced him etc.. Hence the attempts of scholars to identify the king Vikramaditya at whose court he flourished. In ancient times Indian kings dated their records in their regnal years and not according to any scheme of reckoning. King Asoka, for instance, dates the events in his life as having happened in a particular year since his coronation, but the date of that coronation is difficult to fix. We wish he had used an era to date these events. In the absence of it, scholars are hard put to it in reconciling conflicting statements and determining even the limits of his reign. In later times though many kings dated their records in some era or other, their dates were for a long time uncertain until the epochs of those eras were determined. The age of the Guptas is, for instance, hailed as the Golden Age of ancient Indian history on account of their unique achievements in religion, literature and art, but the limits of that age were for a long time undetermined as the epoch of the era in which they dated their records was uncertain. For forty years from 1848 to 1888 the subject of the epoch of that era was at issue among scholars and in the absence of a correct determination of it there was almost 'inextricable confusion in every line of research connected with the Early Gupta period.' Several scholars like E. Thomas, Cunningham, Bhau Daji, Fitz-Edward Hall, Fergusson, R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajendralal Mitra, Oldenberg, Bayley and Hoernle struggled with this problem for full forty years until it was solved by Fleet after the discovery of the Mandasor inscription dated in the Malava

Samvat 529. Even then the epoch determined by Fleet proved to be incorrect by one year as shown by Dr. Bhandarkar. The final determination of the epoch of the Gupta era has helped in the correct understanding of not only the reigning periods of the Gupta kings but also of the evolution of the arts of architecture, sculpture, painting and coinage.

Scholars have spent similar labour on the solution of the problems of other eras also. Recently, in the spring of last year, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, arranged a Conference on the date of Kanishka, the reputed founder of the Saka era, which was attended by scholars from many countries. If we are not to build our history on kings and dynasties, all this labour must be considered as wrongly directed.

The epochs of some other eras also have been determined after years of research. The epoch of the Kalachuri era, for instance, remained undetermined for more than 75 years until it was settled in 1937 in an article which I read at the ninth session of the Oriental Conference. Similarly the epoch of the Ganga era has been at issue among scholars for nearly 75 years and though the view which I put forward nearly twenty years ago that the era commenced on Chaitra su. di. 1 in the Saka year 419 (A. D. 497) is now generally accepted, one comes across a discordant voice occasionally.

The era of Lakshmanasena was a subject of keen controversy among scholars for more than fifty years until the problem was solved simultaneously by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar after the discovery of the biography of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvamin. It is now proved beyond doubt that the era started not in A.D. 1119-20 when Lakshmanasena is said to have been born, but from the end of his reign in *circa* A.D. 1200.

I have cited all these cases to show how much labour scholars have spent on the determination of the exact dates of the commencement of the different eras. If we have not to build our history on kings and dynasties, all this labour must be considered as wasted.

Even for understanding the evolution of art the determination of at least approximate dates of kings is necessary. I shall illustrate this from the paintings in the caves of Ajanta. It is well known that in one of these caves there is an inscription which belongs to the reign of the Vakataka king Harishena, and gives the whole genealogy of the Vakataka princes from Vindhyasakti I, the founder of the dynasty. Now, for a long time the age of the Vakatakas was uncertain. Buhler placed them in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., while Fleet, Kielhorn and Sukhtankar relegated them to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. As there is a difference of four centuries between these dates, our estimate of the evolution of the art of painting at Ajanta would be considerably affected according as we hold the one or the other view. Ultimately, Buhler's view proved to be correct after the discovery of the Poona plates of Prabhavatigupta. The Ajanta paintings in Caves XVI and XVII were thereby referred to the Gupta age. Otherwise, they would have been relegated to a much later age. Again, the adjoining Cave XIX was believed to have been excavated much later, but I have pointed out a clear reference to it in the inscription in Cave XVII, which proves that it is of the same age as the latter cave. This shows how the dates of kings and dynasties have a bearing on the evolution of art. Mere conjectures about the age of an art object on stylistic grounds often prove wide of the mark in the absence of contemporary evidence such as is furnished by inscriptions.

What I have said about the evolution of art is equally applicable to that of religion and literature. Can we take, for instance, at its face value the statement in the Manusmriti that it was composed soon after the commencement of the aeon? If we did so, it will be very misleading indeed. We have therefore to take into account the references to the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas which occur in it, in order to fix the upper limit of its age. This can be done only after the dates of the incursions of these tribes into India are determined. The excavations at Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other similar places can give us a fair idea of the religious life of the people of those days, but the age in which they lived is variously estimated in the absence of all knowledge of the kings and dynasties that flourished at the time. We wish we could decipher the numerous seals discovered there and find therein references to some kings whether of this or of other lands whose dates have been fixed at least approximately.

The researches about the dates of kings and dynasties are not therefore less important. For the right understanding of history even the minutest details about the reigns of kings and other matters are important. In determining these we help in the revelation of some facet or other of the truth. And discovery of the truth must be the chief aim of history.

Presidents of the different Sections will, no doubt, take a general survey of the research work done in their respective periods. I will attempt here only a brief account of the work done by the different Research Societies in the country. It is based on the reports kindly supplied by them.

In recent years many of our Universities have been engaged in archaeological excavations. The Allahabad University has been doing excavation work for several years at Kausambi, the far-famed capital of king Udayana of romantic fame. Its discovery of the Ghoshitarama Monastery and the Syenachiti of the Purushamedha has deservedly attracted wide attention. Prof. G. R. Sharma, who conducted these excavations, has published a full account of them in the volume 'Excavations at Kausambi, 1957-59.' He continued the work in 1960-61 and discovered the stone fortress palace of the early kings of Kausambi on the bank of the Yamuna, which was girded by a ditch, approximately 15 ft. wide and 15 ft. deep. According to stratigraphic evidence the palace was occupied by king Udayana and his immediate predecessors and successors and seems to have been deserted after the fall of the Mitra dynasty. This was probably the Su-Yamuna Palace of king Udayana mentioned in literature, which, like the Su-Ganga Palace of the Mauryas, commanded a beautiful view of the river on which it was situated. Dr. Sharma thinks that the prevalent opinion amongst Indologists that stone architecture in India commenced with the age of Asoka will have to be revised. He has shown that India had evolved such architecture independently without the influence of either the Persians or the Indo-Greeks.

The Banaras Hindu University has resumed excavations at the Rajaghat site which yielded numerous antiquities many years ago during the digging by railway contractors. Dr. Narain, who conducted the excavations, found evidence of the occupation of the site in six different periods ranging in date from 800 B. C. to the 17th century A. D. The earliest stratum disclosed an enormous clay rampart which had been built directly over the natural soil by piling up the dug up clay. It seems that the fortifications on the river side were breached several times by floods.

Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Director of the Archaeological Survey, Madhya Pradesh, excavated an important site at the hamlet of Avra in the Mandasor District, which is soon to be submerged by the dam of the Chambal. In the course of his excavations he noticed signs of human habitations of different periods from the chalcolithic to the post-Kushana age. This site, which has yielded Kshatrapa coins, links Malwa with Saurashtra and Anarta, which were ruled by the Western Kshatrapas in the early centuries of the Christian era. One notable find was of the drain pipe which was linked to a ring well, thus furnishing important evidence of the drainage system of ancient India. A terracotta sealing of the Mauryan period with the Brahmi legend *Aparaya* shows that the present name of the village Avra dates from the Mauryan age.

The Saugor University conducted excavation at Eran, in the Saugor District under the direction of Prof. K. D. Bajpeyi. It brought to light clear traces of the chalcolithic culture in Eastern Malwa. Among important finds of the historical period is a lead sealing of king Indradatta, who, on the evidence of its characters, seems to have flourished in the Maurya age. Besides, several copper coins of Ramagupta, of both the lion and Garuda types, were found. Other finds such as seals and coins testified to the occupation of this place of strategic importance by the Saka and Huna kings.

The Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, continued excavation work at Newasa, which had already yielded important finds. Dr. S. B. Dev unearthed, during excavations, extensive remains of the Chalcolithic and subsequent periods. Another chalcolithic site in the Poona District viz., that at Chandoli was also excavated.

The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona, published recently Persian Correspondence edited by Shri G. H. Khare. It forms the first part of the fifth Volume of the Series *Historical Persian Documents*. For several years past the Mandal has been engaged in the preparation of a *Sakavali* containing a comprehensive list of verified dates in the history of the Marathas. When completed, the *Sakavali* will be a very useful work of reference for the study of the period.

In recent years the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology has been started in several Universities and a number of scholars are studying the subject and carrying on researches in it. Still, there are numerous problems awaiting solution, I shall mention only a few of them. The chronological relation of the Harappan civilization to the Vedic civilization is still a moot point. The view that the former flourished long before the latter is now contested and it has been shown that the two civilizations were contemporary for some time at least. Again, the view that the former civilization disappeared from India on account of the conquests of the Aryan invaders is also now rudely shaken. A critical study of the dynastic lists in the Puranas is, again, a great desideratum. There are many names in them which are not supported by contemporary evidence. In their list of the Andhra kings, the Puranas state, for instance, that Satakarni I was succeeded by Purnotsanga, but the contemporary Nanaghat inscription names this successor as Vedisri. On the other hand, there are several names in them which have been corroborated by the recent discoveries of coins in Vidarbha and elsewhere. One of the remarkable discoveries was the mention of the name of the Saka king Mana which had been changed out of recognition in the course of the copying of the Puranas by ignorant scribes for hundreds of years. The name has been corroborated by the discovery of his coins in the former State of Hyderabad. The history of North-western India in the post Maurya and pre-Kushana period is still not beyond the pale of controversy. Even the date of Kanishka is still uncertain as shown by the discussion in the Conference recently convened by the London School of Oriental and African Studies, to which I have referred before. Though the origin of several eras has now been satisfactorily explained, that of some others such as the Vikrama and Bhatika eras is still undetermined and several theories have been advanced about them which require critical examination. The history of Central India before the rise of the Guptas is still uncertain for the most part. The era in which the records of one of the dynasties ruling there viz., Magha are dated was long in dispute, but I am glad to say that my view that it must be identified with the Saka era of A. D. 78 is now generally accepted. The history of the Gupta dynasty itself after the death of Skandagupta is still highly controversial. In South

India the period following the downfall of the Satavahanas and preceding the rise of the Chalukyas of Badami presents several problems which demand critical study. How the powerful empires of the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas and the Hoyasalas crumbled suddenly before foreign invasions is a problem which needs investigation. In the ancient and mediaeval history of every part of India there are innumerable gaps which require to be filled by patient study and research. Many of them were pointed in the Symposium arranged at the last session of this Congress. Happily the number of scholars devoting themselves to the study of ancient Indian history is increasing and we hope that there will be substantial progress as a result of their labours.

During the last twenty-four years the Indian History Congress has no doubt provided a forum for the discussion of historical problems, but it has not achieved much success in its scheme of publishing a *Comprehensive History of India*. The need of such a history written by Indian scholars was first stressed in the address of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who presided over the second session of this Congress. The scheme which was subsequently formulated was welcomed enthusiastically and substantial financial aid was not long in coming. But during the last twenty years we have not been able to publish more than one volume of the proposed history. I had to revise thrice the chapter which I wrote for one of the Volumes and even now the time when it will see light of the day is uncertain. I am afraid we are laying ourselves open to blame as in the saying *Arambhasurah khalu bharatiya*. It is high time that our Publication Committee bestirred itself and pursued the preparation and publication of the remaining volumes of the *History* more vigorously.

Happily the other scheme of publishing the History and Culture of the Indian People undertaken by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has made substantial progress and six volumes of it have been published. We congratulate the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on this achievement and hope that it will be emulated by others who have undertaken similar projects.

One of the great needs of workers in Indian history is a bibliography of books and articles bearing on the subject of their study. In view of this need the National Library of India, Calcutta, has undertaken the preparation of bibliographies on all aspects of Indian culture. It has already published one volume of its Series of the Bibliographies of Indology, dealing with Anthropology. More volumes dealing with Sanskrit literature and the different periods of Indian history have been planned and the work of compiling the bibliographies has been assigned to competent scholars. But these bibliographies will be compiled on the eclectic principle. They will contain mainly annotated entries of books useful for the study of a particular subject. Articles from journals are to be cited sparingly in cases where no comprehensive treatment in book form is available. These bibliographies will, no doubt, be useful for the study of the particular subjects, but they will not satisfy the need, keenly felt by specialists, of exhaustive lists of all books and articles bearing on their subjects published up to date. In this connection, I am reminded of the *Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which the Kern Institute, Leyden, published for several years with the financial aid of the Government of India, Indian States, Netherlands and Ceylon. Though limited in its scope, the *Bibliography* was very useful to scholars who were engaged in the study and research of ancient Indian history. Later, the Indian Historical Research Society of the St. Xavier's College published a bibliography of Indian history for some years, but it has also ceased to come out. The need of an exhaustive bibliography of all books and articles on Indian history is very keenly felt by scholars. This Congress will do well to undertake the preparation and publication of an annual bibliography of this type. It should not be difficult to find the necessary scholastic aid for this work. I am confident that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and the U. G. C. will be willing to render the necessary financial assistance.

There is another matter to which I would invite the attention of this Congress. We have vast research material published in the *Proceedings* of the last twenty-three sessions of this Congress and also in the Summaries of papers submitted annually. In the absence of an Index this material cannot be easily utilised. The All-India Oriental Conference has published so far two Indexes to the papers published in the *Transactions* of its twenty sessions. It is high time this Congress also undertake the preparation and publication of a similar Index to papers published in the *Proceedings* of its twenty-four sessions.

For thousands of years India has been united culturally, but her political unity was not achieved until recent times. Vedic literature no doubt contains several terms indicative of paramountcy such as Samrajya and Maharajya, but it is doubtful if any king of that age had an extensive Empire. The ideal of Chakravartin was, however, always before the kings of ancient times. This was not for self-aggrandisement but for the promotion of Dharma (righteousness). Such a king was called *Dharmavijayin.* Kautilya defines the *Chakravarti-kshetra* in the following words:—*Himavatsamudrantaramudichinam yojanasahasraparimanam tiryakschakravarti kshetram.* This means that the sphere of influence of a Chakravartin extends over a thousand yojanas from the Himalayas in the north to the ocean in the south. The first king who is traditionally supposed to have brought the whole of India under his rule is Bharata, after whom the country is called Bharatavarsha. But rarely in the historical period has any king succeeded in bringing even a major portion of this extensive country under his sway. It was only Asoka whose empire approximated to this ideal. It extended from Afghanistan in the northwest to Mysore in the south. The lowermost portion of the peninsula comprising the countries of Chola, Kerala and Pandya was outside his realm. Later kings, though they claimed to be rulers of the whole earth, had a much smaller dominion. Thus, the Satavahanas, who held the position of paramountcy for a long time in the south, are described in inscriptions and literature as the lords of Dakshinapatha, whose kingdom was bounded by the three oceans. The Guptas had a fairly large empire in North India, but they had no parts of the Deccan under their direct rule, though some kings of the south such as the Vakatakas and the Early Rashtrakutas were under their sphere of influence. In the seventh century A.D. the country was divided between two empires, that of Harsha in the North and of Pulakesin II in the South. In later times many kings of the North invaded South India and those of the South raided North India, but none of them succeeded in extending their sway over the whole country. The political unity of the whole country implied in the expression Chakravartikshetra thus remained an unrealised dream. But these empires of North India, small as they were, succeeded in repelling foreign attacks so long as they lasted. Alexander could not be successfully resisted by the small republican States in the north-west such as the Malavas and the Kshudrakas, but the garrisons which he stationed there for the occupation of the conquered territory were soon wiped out by Chandragupta Maurya, who had in the meantime succeeded in welding the country into a large empire. When the Central power weakened after the death of Asoka this empire crumbled to pieces and small kingdoms arose in different parts of India. Those in the north-west could not resist the invasions of the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushanas. History repeated itself in the Gupta age. The Early Gupta kings subdued foreign invaders and either annexed their territories or made them their vassals. The Hunas, who dared to invade India towards the close of the reign of Kumaragupta I, were vanquished by the Crown-prince Skandagupta, but after his death the central power weakened owing to dissensions in the Imperial family. So the Huna invaders Toramana and Mihirakula could, without much difficulty, penetrate as far as Eran in Central India. Towards the close of the 10th and in the beginning of the 11th century the rulers of the Panjab invoked the aid of some Hindu princes of North India to stem the tide of foreign invasions, but the front thus organised was not successful on account of internal rivalry and dissensions. Besides, the rulers of South India appeared to be perfectly unconcerned in these invasions. They were engaged in internecine warfare in their own regions. Nay, they even attacked some kings of Central India, who had been weakened by foreign raids. This shortsighted policy soon resulted in their own destruction. If the past history of India has to teach us any lesson, it is that of the paramount need of national unity.

India has now been constituted into a Sovereign Democratic Republic. There is even a greater need of unity in a democratic than in a monarchical State. This was pointed out by the Buddha nearly 2500 years ago. He told the Lichchhavis that their republic had nothing to fear from the attacks of king Ajatasatru so long as they held full and frequent assemblies, met in concord, rose in concord and carried out their undertakings in concord. Latterly, there have been signs of disintegration in the country, which have been causing our leaders great worry. They are attributed by some to the recent formation of linguistic States. But unity in diversity has always been the pattern of Indian religion and culture. Linguistic States should not therefore be the causes of disintegration if people realize that loyalty to the country has the first claim on them. The recent non-party Conference held to discuss the problem of national integration has recommended certain measures to achieve emotional integration. One other effective means would be to spread widely the knowledge of Indian Culture. If people know, study and learn to appreciate the ancient works of literature and art, which are the common heritage of all Indians, they will be imperceptibly drawn together, notwithstanding regional differences. The disruptive forces of regionalism will thus be effectively counteracted. For this national unity, let us pray with the ancient sages of Bharatavarsha:—

> "*Samano va akutih samana hridayani vah*
> *Samanamstu vo mano yatha vah susahasati*"

May your resolve be one and the same, may your hearts be of one accord, may your thoughts be united so that your strength will increase!

SECTION I

ANCIENT PERIOD

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. B. P. SINHA

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates,

I am extremely grateful to the executive committee of the Indian History Congress for calling upon me to preside over Section I (Ancient India) of the Congress this year. Nobody could be more aware of my limitations than myself. I have a feeling that perhaps it was my long association with the Congress in various capacities that may have partly weighed with the authorities concerned to elect me in appreciation of my humble services to the Congress. With your co-operation I hope to discharge this heavy responsibility to the best of my ability.

There has been a commendable progress in the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture in its different aspects. But we are still to a considerable extent on the adventurous journey of 'rediscovering' ourselves, our history. Archaeology is one of the most important sources for this study. India is a vast country with an extremely long history. Archaeological relics and sites are literally strewn over the entire length and breadth of the country.

But the problem of scientific excavations and explorations of the ancient sites throughout the country is colossal. The financial implications of modern archaeological excavation on the scale demanded by the situation are staggering, particularly in this age of priority in development of underdeveloped countries like India. The necessity of a large band of trained personnel is too obvious to be emphasized. The rapid building of new townships, of dams across rivers, of artificial lakes and irrigation canals has injected an element of urgency for the archaeologists and historians to salvage ancient historical materials before they are finally lost. All this means that in the limited resources available in men and money, we have to plan and extend archaeological excavation and exploration in the country. It has been therefore very rightly decided that besides the Department of Archaeology, the Universities of India also should be associated in the training of the personnel, and in archaeological excavations. With the active guidance and co-operation of the Department of Archaeology and the assistance of the University Grants Commission, teaching and training in Archaeology in theory and practice has been started in Calcutta, Patna, Allahabad, Baroda, Poona and Madras Universities since 1959-60. It is expected and desired that such facilities will be provided in other Indian Universities soon. It is certain that in the liberal and academic atmosphere of the Universities, the future archaeologists will have besides the know-how of the technique a wider perspective and a more rounded approach. In the context of the fast developing situation, it is highly desirable that there should be still more rapid expansion of archaeological and historical studies in the country.

With a view to dot the lines of the future plan and progress of studies in ancient Indian History, it is desirable to take stock of the present position. Here it is attempted in a most summary manner as it is not possible to review all the valuable publications on the subject. In the field of history and proto-history of India marked advance has been recently made. For a reasonable assessment of the position, 'Personality of India' by B. Subba Rao (second edition 1958) and 'Early India and Pakistan' by M. Wheeler (London, 1959) may be profitably consulted. The discovery of the 'Sohan type' tools in the valleys of the Beas and the Sutlej has given us sites of this palaeolithic culture on the Indian side of the border. Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Subba Rao, K. V. Saundar Rajan, M. M. Deshpande and many other distinguished scholars have brought to light palaeolithic industries in Gujarat, Bombay, Andhra, Madhya Pradesh and other regions. A. H. Dani in his well written work 'Prehistory and Protohistory of Eastern India' (1960), has made a critical survey of Palaeolithic and Neolithic cultures in Eastern India and of the associated problems. However he does not seem to have been aware of the discovery of palaeolithic tools in the vicinity of Khargpur hills in Monghyr district (Bihar), by Shri N. K. Bose and party, and the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University. Long ago the Singrauli Basin in the Mirzapur district of the Uttar Pradesh had yielded a large variety of palaeolithic tools. A much more extensive and intensive exploration and some test excavations, at least throughout North India, are necessary to correlate and understand the evolution and migration of old stone-age cultures in N. E. India, and in Upper Gangetic Valley in comparison with similar industries located in the Punjab, Central India, Maharashtra and Madras. The study of Mesolithic and Neolithic cultures of India is still in their infancy. In spite of the scholarly contributions of Stuart Piggot, D. H. Gordon, M. Wheeler and A. Stein, the culture sequences of the Indian Borderland village cultures still present a baffling problem. The excavation in progress at Burzhama near Srinagar in Kashmir is full of promise, and if press-reports are to be believed a settlement of pit-dwellers followed by that of houses made of mud-bricks and stones was discovered. Only further and authentic reports of the excavation will give due significance to this startling discovery.

In our knowledge of the Harappa culture there has not been any significant addition except that further proofs of its spread into Rajasthan and western Uttar Pradesh (Meerut District) have been made available. The discovery of Lothal as a mature Harappan site was of great significance when Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro etc., were lost to India. The publication of the Lothal Excavations report is being awaited with some degree of impatience now, as it is believed to throw fresh light on the complicated problem of the rise and end of the Harappan culture. The excavations at Kot Diji in Pakistan and at Kaligangan in Rajasthan have revealed features which have intriguing bearing on the history of the Harappan culture. At Kaligangan with typical Harappan seals and pottery have also been found another type of ware which had been met in Pre-defence levels at Harappa and at lower levels at Kot Diji. The sequence of cultures is becoming still more difficult to determine.

The excavations at Ahar, Gulind, Navda-toli, Kausambi and Sonepur in Magadha have added new leaves to the proto-history of Central India and the Middle Gangetic valley. The Kausambi fortifications show continuity of the Harappan architectural traditions. The discovery of Black-and-Red ware of both crude and fine varieties in Sonepur in Magadha in levels lower than North-Black-Polished ware levels at the same site is very significant, when we find that this particular ceramic technique may be placed as early as the middle of the second millennium B.C. in Navda-Toli. Its co-occurrence with Harappa pottery in Lothal has already attracted well-deserved attention. Thus this Black-and-Red ware culture appears to have spread from Gujarat in the west to Rajasthan, Malwa, and Magadha. Intervening regions may be further explored in this connection. I had, in my paper read at the last Aligarh session of this Congress, suggested that the early branch of the Aryans might be associated with this ceramic-technique making of Black-and-Red pottery by the method of inverted firing. It is encouraging to find that Prof. G. R. Sharma in his presidential address in the Archaeology section of the All-India Oriental Conference, held in Srinagar in 1961, has the same suggestion to offer.

The political history, beginning from cir. 600 B.C., has its outlines more or less fixed by the patient and painstaking researches of the foreign and Indian scholars for more than a century now. Almost all important dynasties have received the attention of scholars and there has been even reconsideration of some topics dealt with before. The Chandelas have been treated both by Bose and Mitra. Asoka has been from the very beginning a fascinating subject. Even after the monumental and comprehensive works of D. R. Bhandarkar and R. K. Mookerji, some refreshing treatises on the subject have come out recently. Mention must be made of 'Chronology of Asoka Maurya' by F. Eggermont and 'Asoka and the fall of the Mauryan Empire' by R. Thapar. There is not much new material discovered and discussed in these books but the revaluation of the well-known source materials and their critical re-interpretations have been refreshing. While such works might suggest the paucity of maiden grounds to be broken in this field of study, they also show how different is the taste of the old wine in a new bottle. For a serious and critical research student, there is no finality about any conclusion, and an absorbing subject like this opens new founts of inspiration to those who seek them. In the same context I may refer to R. C. Majumdar's 'Classical

Accounts of India' (1906). Due to his scholarly and critical research publications for more than four decades now Dr. Majumdar has been a source of great inspiration to generations of Indian historians. By his recent work mentioned above he has given us an authentic and systematic collection of classical accounts in chaste English translation with critical editorial notes. This volume will remain an indispensable handbook of original sources for students of Indian history for a long time. After the Classical sources, Epigraphy is a very important source for the study of the Mauryan and Post-Mauryan periods. It is therefore, a matter of great satisfaction that Indian scholars are carrying on the traditions of G. S. Ojha. C. C. Dasgupta's 'The Development of the Kharosthi Script' has been closely followed by C. S. Upasak's 'The history and palaeography of the Mauryan Brahmi Script'. Asokan inscriptions have been given fresh treatment by the competent hands of R. G. Basak. 'The Indo-Greeks' by A. K. Narain shows how patient and devoted research can break new ground in a field which had been almost thoroughly dealt with by very competent authorities ending with the late lamented W. W. Tarn. In my book 'Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha', I had utilised the reports of the chemical analysis of the gold content of the Gupta coins for reconstructing the dynastic history of the later Imperial Guptas. This line of enquiry has been pursued by S. K. Maity and he has not only used the data in drawing upon the economic history as in his book 'Economic conditions in the Gupta Empire', but he has been publishing the chemical analysis reports on the coins of the Kushanas and the Guptas which might prove very useful to scholars interested in the specific fields of studies. For the Post-Gupta period, I may mention the 'History of the Gurjara Pratiharas' by B. N. Puri and 'The History of the Gahadavalas' by R. Neyogi as some of the more important publications. On administrative history and institutions of Ancient India, U. N. Ghosal's 'A history of Indian Political Ideas' is, though a revised and enlarged edition of his earlier work on the subject, by far the most critical and scholarly treatise on the subject. R. S. Sharma's 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' is another valuable collection of critical essays on some aspects of ancient Indian Polity and administration. It would be unpardonable to miss the posthumous publication, 'Military History of India', by late Sir J. N. Sarkar, rightly regarded as a father of Indian historical research. In the field of social studies, 'the Sudras in ancient India', by R. S. Sharma has been closely followed by the English translation of the original French thesis 'Slavery in Ancient India' by D. Chhanan. Though it may be difficult for many of us to agree with some of his conclusions, particularly those concerned with the comparative assessment of the position of the slaves in ancient India with that of Greece and Rome in contemporary times, the monograph is useful as an authentic compilation of all relevent materials on the subject from the 6th Century B.C. to the end of the Mauryan period. Recently a large number of well illustrated books on ancient Indian art and architecture have come out. The pride of place is to be given to H. Goetz's volume on 'Art of India'. Separate monographs with attractive photographs have appeared dealing with the art of the Pallavas, Chandelas, Rashtrakutas. But even today need is felt for a comparative and descriptive account of the evolution and development of Indian art and architecture together with detailed studies of local variations in themes and techniques. I have recently attempted to give a critical and descriptive account of Magadhan art and architecture, which has been published by the Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parisad in Hindi. For a general understanding of the main artistic impulses and course of development of Indian art, S. K. Saraswati's 'Survey of Indian Sculpture' remains the latest readable account.

This rather bird's-eye view of the more important recent publications on different aspects of ancient Indian history while it suggests on the one hand the commendable progress all round in Indian historiography, also poses at the same time an enchanting challenge to the present and future historians to march on and on undeterred on the road to discovery of truth, the chief objective of historical research. There are still very many comparatively dark or ill-known aspects of ancient Indian history waiting to be illumined by sincere and patient researchers endowed with the gifts of objectivity and critical ability to tackle the complexity of source materials. Much more spade work is literally required to know a systematic account of prehistory of India. The problem of the decipherment of the Harappan script is practically very much where it was in spite of the laudable efforts of Langdon, S. Smith, Gadd, Waddel, Hunter, Horzny, and Swami Sankarananda. None of the solutions advocated by these scholars has received even reasonable acceptance. Probably the discovery of a Rosetta Stone alone will help in solving this riddle. But the problem, because it has proved so far elusive to solution, is a standing challenge to the imaginative and speculative genius of Indian scholarship, and years of devoted and hard work on the subject may crown the successful one with immortal glory. A more intensive and first-hand study of the village cultures and their potteries on the Indian borderland with a comparative analysis of recent finds in Iraq and Syria may yet reward the student with significant clues to unravel the mysteries of the origin, development and end of the Harappan culture. In this connection, I may refer to the' Indus Valley Painted Pottery', by R. S. Starr, published as early as 1941. The comparative methodology adopted in this book brings out prominently the close affinities of the painted designs on the Harappan pottery with those of the Halafian, Samarran, Uruk and Jemdet Nasr, generally placed by scholars in a much earlier period. However with the progress of archaeology in West Asia in very recent years and also in India with the discovery of Lothal as a mature Harappan site, a more thorough and comprehensive as well as comparative study of the

Harappan and associated potteries and of their affinities with West Asiatic ceramic traditions is urgently required by competent and unprejudiced authorities.

For the period following the end of the Harappa culture and the beginning of the Mauryan period our sources are primarily literary. While it is extremely desirable that the archaeologist's spade unearths more and more of material historical remains, it would be wrong to discount, in the absence of archaeological sources, the voluminous sacred and traditional literature as mere fairy tales. It is certainly very unfortunate, to say the least, that this onesided approach is reported to have led the editors of the Unesco Volumes on History of Mankind to dismiss the Vedic period of the Aryans as barbarian or semi-barbarian. The scholars dealing with India should have taken lesson from the results of archaeological excavations in the holy land of Palestine, an ancient land like India. There archaeology in a substantial measure has found, to the pleasant surprise of all, that many of the Biblical traditions, events and heroes and cities really did exist. Bible as history is in the process of being corroborated to a certain extent by archaeology. Indian archaeology has even by now after a hundred years of its life touched only a fringe of this vast country. It is certainly not proper at the present state of our knowledge derived from archaeological sources alone to dismiss totally the historicity of the cultural traditions preserved in the Vedic and Pauranic literature. Of course the climate and the chequered course of Indian history do not hold a very optimistic picture for the startling results of proto-historic archaeology. But there is no doubt that intensive and extensive explorations and excavations, taking into account the historical and cultural traditions preserved in ancient literature, will certainly give encouraging results. The excavations in Hastinapur and Kausambi might illustrate the significance of this hope. However, in the absence of the corroborative or supplementary archaeological data, a comparative and critical analysis of the vast literature will still prove very useful in reconstructing the political and cultural history of the country in the period before the beginning of the Buddhist age. The sequence and spread of the Black-and-Red ware, the Painted Grey ware and the North-Black-Polished ware may after close and deeper investigation throw significant light on the history and culture of the period. While it is necessary not to ignore the importance of archaeological sources it would be equally uncritical to minimise the value of literary sources. It is imperative that scholars interested in the reconstruction and interpretation of the country's past should combine the services of both the disciplines. To have a fuller picture of the proto-history of India one group of sources should not be ignored in preference to another because both types of sourees have their own limitations. Therefore, a critical application of a comparative methodology of research making a balanced treatment of both archaeological and literary sources is a great desideratum.

Much more than spade work has been done so far as the historical period is concerned. But history after the death of Asoka has still many hazy periods or sub-periods. Unless some fresh materials in the shape of inscriptions or literary references are available the political history of India, particularly the course of succession after Asoka, has to remain somewhat doubtful. The problem of the Mitra Kings of Uttara Pradesh is as yet far from being solved to our entire satisfaction. The character and the course of the Sunga history is to be reassessed in the light of apparently contradictory literary and archaeological sources. The date of Kanishka is to be reconsidered in the light of recent discoveries in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The course of the history of Magadha after the end of the Kanva rule is still far from settled. The Lichchhavis and their hold on Magadha in the period immediately before the rise of the Gupta power deserve closer probe. The problem of the origins of the Imperial Guptas has been highly controversial and in the controversy I had also the honour to intervene. The subject is still an open one. While learned monographs and critical studies have appeared on Asoka, Chandragupta and Harsha, it would be very desirable to have scholarly biographies of Samudragupta, Skandagupta, Dharmapala, Devapala, Mihirbhoja, Rajendrachola, and other great Indian kings who influenced the course of history of their times. Detailed investigations may be fruitfully taken up in the history of the Yadavas of Deogiri and the Kakatiyas of Warrangala. In view of recent discoveries in Nagarjunikonda, the history of the Ikshvaku dynasty may be systematically written.

Studies on aspects of ancient Indian polity and administration have been carried on recently with considerable enthusiasm. This is evident from the recent publications of books and articles on the subject. But a critical evaluation of the origins and nature of the ancient Indian state is still called for. Is it correct to group the Indian states of the Buddhist age or the Mauryan period in line with the Hydrolic states of China and West Asia as conceived by Wittfogel in his scholarly work 'Oriental Despotism'? Sometime ago, I had discussed the welfare character of the Kautiliyan state. It will be both interesting and instructive to collect and collate all the available references about such and similar programmes of state activities in ancient India: This might help in proper evaluation of the nature of the ancient Indian state in different periods. A theoretical discussion of such abstract ideas as the conception of state as distinguished from the king, the place of public opinion in Indian governments may be profitably fully discussed and debated to enable us to have clearer views about ancient Indian political ideas. The nature and significance of the feudal system as developed in the post-Gupta period with a comparative analysis of the system as prevalent in medieval Europe is another fruitful subject of enquiry. Still a lot of work is to be done on the military history and system of the Hindus. The comparative position of the different wings of the army in the different periods of history may be meticulously investigated. The nature and extent of the impact of foreign technique and equipments on Indian military strategy and equipment have to be carefully studied. A close and detailed study of the army manoeuvres as described in the Arthasastra and the Ramayana and the Mahabharata with actual description of army line-ups in the historical period may be immensely educative. A much more cogent explanation than usually offered is demanded for the prolonged and obdurate resistance to the Muslim invaders when the Indian political situation was most disheartening, Indian society was anaemic, and the Indian military equipments and strategy were comparatively outmoded and outdated. The role of navy in ancient India is to be re-assessed and the neglect of navy by Muslim rulers deserves to be accounted for.

In the social history there is considerable scope for creative work. While the Sudras and the Slaves have received well deserved attention of scholars recently, there is a clear necessity for a fresh discussion of the mutual relationship existing between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas in the Vedic and early Buddhist periods. A critical reading between the lines of the Vedic and Brahmanic literature leads one to suspect an undercurrent of hostility between the two upper classes of the Vedic society or at least an undercurrent of competition. An unbiased approach might lead to a correct appraisal of the moral and social norms and practices in the Vedic and Pauranic ages. Dr. S. C. Sarkar in his 'Social aspects of ancient Indian history' had drawn on Vedic sources to arrive at some interesting suggestions. A comprehensive descriptive account of the life of the common people through the ages may be profitably attempted on the basis of correlation of the vast amount of materials in the shape of coins, terracottas, potteries, sculptures and paintings besides literary references as corroborative or supplementary evidences. This will give us a pen-picture of the dress, toilet, ornaments, of the people living in different regions and in different periods. While food and drink in ancient India have been subjects of scholarly treatment recently, a systematic and chronological review of the origins and history of ancient Indian festivals may be very useful for understanding even some of the current popular religious festivals. I have in mind a festival like 'Chhatha' which is very popular in Bihar, eastern U.P. and parts of Bengal and appears to combine both the Sun worship and the worship of the Mother-Goddess. It is both a sociological and historical problem to trace its roots to explain the great hold it has on the masses even today. Then monographs on the history and status of some of the important professional classes such as the Kayasthas, the Sutas, Magadhas, skilled artisans, the labourers in the fields, factories and homes, are suitable subjects of enquiry. However, in general it may be admitted that most of our works on social history actually are descriptive accounts of the social conditions prevalent in the chosen periods of study. What is now needed is a critical and comprehensive Social History of ancient India dealing with the origins and development and later decay of institutions and ideas as prevalent in different periods. Of course social and economic history of India will receive some treatment in the comprehensive projects on Social and Economic History of the Orient planned abroad. But the experience of the past makes me bold to suggest that Indian scholars should plan and execute writing of the Social and Economic history of the country. The execution of the work on Economic history may be preceded by learned monographs on some of the important economic ideas and organisations. The history of money and banking, the history of irrigation system, international trade, trade-routes, industrial units and organisations, markets and prices, public and private sectors, and such other topics have to be investigated as far as possible in chronological sequence. A critical analysis in historical perspective of economic ideas and institutions and their impacts on social and political life of the country through the ages will be an exhilarating intellectual exercise. In my opinion, it is now high time for competent scholars in the field to take up this stupendous but creative assignment of preparing a comprehensive social and economic history of India. Already there are schemes afloat for preparation of comprehensive histories of different states. History of Bengal in two volumes has in a way set the model: Comprehensive History of Bihar in three Volumes under the general editorship of the great historian, Dr. K. K. Datta, is under active preparation. Its Volume I dealing with the ancient period of Bihar has been entrusted to me as its editor and is expected to go to press in early 1963. Such detailed regional histories are bound to be very useful in providing the necessary basis for a comprehensive social and economic history of the country as a whole. Such projects demand close collaboration of a band of scholars engaged in the work for many years. But the prospect of reward in the form of intellectual satisfaction must act as a spur to go ahead with the project.

About religions of ancient India much has been written. But it is very opportune today to attempt a critical appreciation of the mutual relationships existing between different religions and sects and their votaries. Exhaustive studies regionwise may also be attempted. The most satisfying truth that emerges is that on the whole there has prevailed a fair degree of religious toleration and mutual respect for different sects as demanded by the great Asoka. In spite of vigorous and free religious propaganda in the country there are hardly any notices of what we mean by communal or religious riots. Contrary to Medieval European examples we have hardly any example of religious persecution by the state. More detailed studies of iconographic features of the images of various gods and goddesses of different religions might bring out some interesting inferences. In my paper submitted at the Trivandrum session of this Congress I had drawn attention to the images of certain Buddhist deities in which Hindu deities were shown in insulting and humiliating position. This objective study can be pursued with profit. It will also be very useful to study the iconography of the minor deities of different religions belonging to different regions and periods. Such studies may give us valuable data about religious history and beliefs prevalent in different regions and periods.

A revaluation of the Indian cultural influence in South East-Asia is urgently demanded. It has been felt that too frequent repetitions and emphasis on the so-called teaching role of India in these lands might lead to some misunderstanding sometimes, and these, naturally cannot be very welcome to resurgent nationalism. I have always felt that to regard the Indian settlements abroad as colonies, in ancient period at least, is not very correct. Colonialism means the exploitation of the colonies by the immigrants in favour of their motherland. This ultimately leads to political subjugation of the countries by the colonial power. Nothing of this appears to have happened to the South-East Asian settlements. The Indians there might have carried on their social and religious beliefs and practices but they also without inhibition found their way into indigenous society and very soon were assimilated with the natives. But more important is the proper appreciation of the fact that no Indian state or dynasty, with the possible exception of the very temporary phase of aggressive Chola imperialism ever claimed political domination over these countries ruled by dynasties having Indian names and adopting Indian language. The Indian immigrants into these lands might have retained distinct Indianism for sometime and remained culturally and religiously Indian but they never looked upon their motherland, which they had left, for protection or for helping them to pull political strings in the countries of their adoption. They maintained no such political ties with India. The Indian settlements had actually to survive or perish on the ability of the immigrants to live with the local inhabitants. It is in this perspective that the cultural influences of India on these lands derive added significance. A re-appraisal of the total situation then prevailing will be of great help in the mutual understanding of India and the countries of South-East Asia.

In the fields of ancient Indian epigraphy and numismatics there is still considerable scope for original work. We are eagerly awaiting the Corpuses of Indian Coins to be published by the Numismatic Society of India. The volume on the Coinage of the Gupta Empire has been a very valuable addition to the source-books of ancient Indian history. A comprehensive catalogue of the Punch-marked coins in the museums and private collections of the country will be very useful. The chronological sequence of these coins has yet to be determined. Regional varieties are many. Satisfactory explanation for the rarity of gold coins in the post-Gupta period especially in the prosperous Pala period has not been forthcoming. The purity of the various types of gold and silver coins may well be analysed for the use of researches in the dynastic and economic history of the period concerned. After the very valuable publication of the Corpus on Kalachuri inscriptions, one on the Vakataka inscriptions is eagerly awaited. It might be helpful to researchers if texts of inscriptions published in various journals from time to time are collected and properly edited topic-wise and region-wise. In view of the immensely rapid increase in the source materials of ancient Indian history it is desirable that they may be now classified and catalogued in handy volumes to be in easy reach of researchers.

The lines of enquiry suggested above are by no means exhaustive; they are rather illustrative of the fact that though much has been done still more remains to be done. While there is ample scope for research work and there is also an increasing number of workers coming in the field, there are numerous difficulties in the way of scholars. In the Universities and research-institutes the number of paid research-scholars is very unsatisfactory and even these are not moderately paid nor is their tenure as researchers reasonably secure. Naturally a research-scholar from the very morrow of his joining the new assignment is looking for a better and more stable job, which he more often than not succeeds in securing someday. Labours of the supervisor and the research-scholar are thus practically wasted. Something must be done to make research-scholarship more attractive and less transitory. Permanent research-scholars or assistants should be attached to university departments of History, Ancient History, and Sanskrit so that sustained and systematic research work may be facilitated. Young teachers who take up researches with great enthusiasm and confidence in the future soon become cold and tired due to either heavy teaching load on their young immature minds or due to the realisation that academic distinction is not given proper appreciation and recognition in promotions or for other material awards open to teachers of the Universities. Very often considerations other than academic distinctions and research work tilt the scale. But more important than financial security is the absolute necessity of providing the researcher with tools as near him as possible. Unfortunately for a researcher in ancient Indian history it is becoming well nigh impossible to do work in any single University centre. He finds that he is always to be on move, I mean physically, in quest of even standard books and journals. This speaks loudly of the ill-equipped character of many of the University libraries. It is highly imperative that necessary tools in the form of books, journals, reference books be made available in at least a few selected centres of advanced learning for research workers. Another serious difficulty more poignantly felt these days is the practical inability of the researcher to deal with the complexity of the linguistic problem staring in his face. Besides Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, a working knowledge of French, German and Dutch besides English was desired of all those working in the field of ancient Indian history. But now the Russian and Czech languages also besides others are to be managed. The situation has become worse with the great fillip given to regional languages in the country which are actually more than the fourteen recognised in the Constitution. Sometimes very good work is published in the journals and also books of the various languages. And no student however studious he might be can cope with the plethora of the relevant materials coming out in so many languages. It, therefore, appears to be necessary to request the scholars who are publishing their valuable researches in regional languages to give a summary of their articles in English for the benefit of many. This will certainly not be wholly satisfactory but something is always better than nothing. It is desirable that advocates of regional languages may ponder over the implications on the state and quality of advanced study and research in the country. Now with the very limited resources in men and money available in the country, it is essential there should be proper co-ordination of research work in different Universities and research institutes, and as far as possible duplication should be avoided. Therefore an authoritative periodical publication, giving the present state of research in the Universities and an account of approved subjects for research and the list of published or approved theses is strongly felt. The setting up of the Institute of Historical Studies and the publication of its bulletin under the editorship of its Director Dr. S. P. Sen will certainly go a long way towards meeting this long felt want. It is desirable that there should be increasing facilities for the researchers to periodically visit different Universities and consult competent authorities of his subject. Exchange of professors from one University to another will not only stimulate research but also help in co-ordination of researches in different Universities. Attention may be drawn to another real difficulty. The volume of publication on different aspects of ancient Indian history is daily mounting up, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for any one scholar to keep himself abreast of the continuous outpouring of new materials. It is often well nigh impossible for him to devote the necessary time and labour in collecting relevant materials for his specific field of study from the huge mass of possibly useful published material. Authoritative bibliographies are necessary pre-requisites for a researcher. The Kern's Institute's publications on Indian bibliography have been long in arrears. It is extremely desirable that a co-ordinated project of preparing and publishing up-to-date comprehensive and also classified bibliographies of Indological studies under different subject- and period-wise heads be taken up by the Universities or why not by this learned body, the Indian History Congress itself. Together with this very useful work of indexing the published source materials up-to-date, it is equally incumbent to continue search for new materials as early as possible. Qualified exploration and research fellows may be appointed in quite a good number to explore new archeological sites or relics, inscriptions, or coins, potteries and terracottas. Search for ancient manuscripts even now may prove rewarding.

The above mentioned suggestions to promote researches in ancient Indian history have been made in the hope that in Free India there would be no unsurmountable financial limitations for such purposeful and creative studies of the country's past, especially when the Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is himself a pilgrim on the road to the discovery of this great ancient country. In this learned gathering of professional historians and in the capital city of the renaissant country it is unnecessary to answer the uninformed criticism of some people who cannot appreciate the abiding value and advantages of investment in such healthy pursuits as the promotion of the cause of Indological studies in this age of technological development demanding huge investments. It is needless to point out the value of liberal education and of true understanding of the history and culture of the country marching on the road to balanced development. The recent disturbing trends in the Indian political and socio-religious life in the country has even compelled the doubters to turn to the country's history for solace, hope and guidance. The political leaders and educationists, rather the patriots as a whole, have now realised the value of teaching history in the correct perspective to the students in particular and people in general. A compulsory course in Indian history in schools is now regarded as the necessary first step. It is a pity that in many states including my own state of Bihar teaching of History is one of the many optional subjects. We hope the mistake would be remedied before long. It has been rightly felt that in the absence of knowledge of the true spirit and contents of the country's history, our youngmen are swayed by attractive slogans and distorted or onesided versions of the history of the country and this is doing great harm to the development of vigorous and constructive nationalism. Authentic and at the same time fascinating story of the progress of Indian thought, the unique capacity of synthesis and assimilation, the epochs of glory and shame, have to be presented in a readable and attractive form to our young citizens of today or tomorrow.

This naturally leads me to consider here the nature of the problem of national integration as it appears to a student of history. It is certainly a very sad commentary on the state of national consciousness that within less than two decades of the hard won freedom dark clouds are threatening the unity of the country. The dangers come in the form of regionalism, linguism, casteism and communalism. It is to be admitted that these features are in a way our historical legacies and the protagonists of these separatist movements often base their claims on past history and traditions. India has been a country of diverse races, religions and languages from very early periods of its history. The caste system has been one of the most ancient and basic features of the social structure. The political and administrative history of India for a much longer period of its history is really a history of small states often warring with one another. Sectarian rivalry is well known. It is certainly wise to be fully aware of our shortcomings. But at the same time it is misreading of the history of the country as a whole to emphasize on these sad aspects. For a country with so long a history it is possible to go through uninspiring periods. It is necessary to understand the reasons behind these unpalatable aspects. Due to geographical factors, lack of developed means of transport and communications, and due to general lack of political consciousness among the people as a whole, the realisation of political unity has been either shortlived or a vain dream. But the sense of unity of the country has been always uppermost in the minds of the sages, philosophers, religious prophets, statesmen and great kings. The imperial periods of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Cholas may be taken as the practical proofs of this strong urge for political unity. The institution of the Vajapeya and Aswamedha sacrifices gave a religious sanction for achieving political unification by military means. The conception of the Chakravartikshetra embracing the entire motherland from the mountains to the oceans acted as a spur to all the ambitious rulers to be intent on conquest for the realisation of the historic mission. But due to factors, already referred to, complete success in this adventure or quest for political unity was very rare and temporary and even partial successes proved quite unstable. Lack of popular interest in the realisation of political ideals and ambitions of kings and their chancellors might have been a contributory factor in the failure of their attempts to build up stable imperial states embracing the whole country. Such imperial states could survive only for a short time as virtual military impositions. But this lack of political unity did not mean the break up of the country into separate pieces nothing to do with one another. While the kings and statesmen failed, while the armies could not penetrate into remote corners of the country and could have their hold only very temporarily, the philosophers, religious leaders, litterateurs, and artists succeeded in keeping the spirit of oneness, of unity in the country live and real. No religious movement worth mentioning, no philosophy born on the Indian soil, no artistic traditions evolved in the country could remain confined and cabined to any region or amongst any specific group of people. The Vedic religion and philosophy, the Vaishnava, Saiva and Sakti cults, the unorthodox Buddhist and Jaina sects all these arose in one or another part of the country but in course of time overcame the geographical and linguistic barriers and found their way in different nooks and corners of the vast country. Leaders of different religious sects and philosophies soon came to belong to the entire country.

Every religion has its holy places spread over the country and has its saints and prophets born in different regions. The distribution of the centres of pilgrimages of different religions in the country forges a strong chain of integration between the inhabitants of different regions. The rich literary and artistic traditions knew no geographical barrier and became common heritage of the entire country. The Epics and the Puranas were and are sources of inspired beliefs all over the country. The institution of the worship of the kulaparvatas and the great rivers helped in the growth of the idea of oneness of the great country. There is no doubt that in spite of weak political ties binding the entire country, the community of religious and mythological ideas and beliefs, the universality of social norms and structure, the common pride in the glorious events and heroes of the hoary past, and highly assimilative and synthetic character of the Indian culture as a whole bound the peoples of different regions, speaking different languages and worshipping different gods in such strong interlinking chains that even now fortunately have not fallen asunder. Even in the periods when India was politically divided, the unity of India was inviolable because in those days religious and cultural ties, overstepping the bounds of geographical and linguistic barriers, were far stronger for unity than the disintegrating political factor. Politically divided, India was even then in the epochs of political disintegration culturally and fundamentally united in the midst of amazing religious and cultural varieties. In a way the very fact of varieties in Indian cultural and religious life explains the persistence of the sense of fundamental unity of India. Today the problem is somewhat different. India is politically united but appears to be at present emotionally divided on the basis of language, religion, caste and creed. In spite of the fact that a direct threat to political unity has not appeared on the stage except for a feeble voice in the South, the emotional disintegration would lead to incalculable risks to political integration. The factors that emotionally bound the people of the country together are today being played upon in a manner highly prejudicial to national integration. It is also to be realised that the strong spell that the common religious sentiments, the devotional songs of the saints, the faith in the abiding character of the social system, faith in the performance of traditional sacrifices and ceremonies, the call of the places of pilgrimage—all these which had strongly kept the people together—are all losing their hold on the people in general and the intelligentsia in particular who have been going through a real revolution in mind as well as in material situation. In a word old values of life are in the process of being overwhelmed by newer values born of the Industrial technological revolution. But a country like India with rich historical traditions and spiritual values will lose its soul and moorings if ancient values are bid good bye. While even if one desires, the long history and the force of cultural traditions which have shaped the way of life and thinking, his bearing in general cannot be completely cast away. In view of this it is necessary that vigorous and purposeful efforts be made to re-educate countrymen about the abiding and universal values of Indian historical and cultural traditions and to impress on them in these days of intellectual and social crisis that a correct appraisal of the country's past history will be a reliable guide in our progress towards the cherished goal: We will ignore the lessons of history at our peril. The strong bonds of unity which kept the ideal of unity of the country a constant inspiration in the past are to be properly emphasized. To achieve this important task of re-educating the nation about the true spirit and content of its history and to impress on them that often in the past periods of political disunity have not only resulted in loss of freedom of the country but created grave disturbances in the smooth flowing of the cultural streams in the country, it is essential to catch them young, that is, to begin in right earnest with school and college going boys and girls. I am not pleading for the wholesale enthronement of our entire cultural and social values developed in the past. I also do not minimise the necessity of creating among the people a new awareness and a sense of urgency about the problems created for the first time as a result of the technological revolution in progress in the country. This naturally affects our way of life and thinking and forces us to modify or even abandon some of the antiquated social and economic norms. The ancient ideas about the hierarchy of social classes leading to inequality of social status and economic opportunities cannot stand in the age of rapid industrial revolution and growing political democracy. This is just an illustration to see the complexity of the task—to make history as an inspiring fount to spur ahead rather than to make it a millstone round the nation's neck. A critical survey of India's history will certainly bear this out that even for our present difficulties we can profitably take guidance from the past. There is no inherent contradiction in the situation. The course of events might suggest that a time has come when there might be a fuller realisation of ancient ideals propagated and cherished through the ages. The most compelling result of the rapid strides in scientific and technological fields is that different parts of the world have come to the stage when it is not only necessary and good to love one's neighbour but it is imperative for sheer existence to regard the whole world as a single family. The course of the development of science and technology has forced upon us the realisation of the prophetic wisdom of the ancient ideal of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam', in this nuclear age. This is just to illustrate that in many ways the burden of the past should not be considered a tiresome load but an useful asset. But the task of writing and teaching the country's history naturally in this context requires a heavy sense of responsibility and patriotism. This noble task has to be entrusted to the best amongst us, and I have every confidence that the forthcoming volumes on Comprehensive History of India sponsored by this Congress will give us a lead in this matter.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ARYAN PROBLEM

[*Summary*]

S. D. GYANI

The study of the Sanskrit language by the Western scholars gave birth to the science of comparative philology which established linguistic affinities giving rise to the Aryan Problem. A family of Indo-European languages was postulated to which various languages of Asia and Europe were assigned. The philologists in their pursuit of the subject formulated the theory of parent language, parent race and parent culture. Linguistic paleontology gave considerable help in reconstructing the geographical conditions, flora and fauna of the original habitat occupied by the parent race, i.e., the undivided Aryans. But this theory cannot stand the test of critical judgement. Anyway, the linguistic affinities prove, beyond doubt, the wide-spread extent of the Aryans in Asia and Europe.

Cultural affinities also bear testimony to the spread of Aryan culture in various regions of Asia and Europe and render substantial help in locating the cradle of Aryan civilization. The *Rigveda* and *Avesta* are very close to each other. Zoroastrian influence on Judaism, Christianity and Islam is quite obvious. Epigraphic evidence (18th and 15th century B.C.) establishes the existence of Aryan influence in Asia Minor and Egypt. The cuneiform records of the Sumerians clearly prove that they were Aryans. The Hyksos invasion of Egypt (c. 1857 B.C.) is a pointer in the same direction. Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology prove that the ancient Greeks and Romans were Aryans. Thus the cultural affinities are a clear proof of the widespread influence of the Aryans in various parts of Asia and Europe.

The spread of Aryans in different parts of Asia and Europe has given rise to various theories about their original home which is assigned to some region either in Europe or in Asia. Earlier band of scholars had leanings towards locating the original habitat to some region in Asia barring India. With the progress of geology, anthropology, craniology, pre-historic archaeology, it was, more or less, taken for granted that the Aryans should be located not in Asia but in Europe. The scholars began to drag the cradle from one region in Europe to another.

One fails to understand why India is by-passed while solving the problem of the original home of the Aryans. The arguments advanced against India's claim are simply absurd. The argument of linguistic paleontology, though very shallow, supports it. From the earliest times to the present day, India has been centre of Aryan culture. It is the *Rigveda* that has helped the scholars in discovering Aryan traces in different countries. The Rigvedic scene is laid down in the Punjab and the Kabul valley (*Sapta Sindhu*). In the *Rigveda* there is no reference whatsoever to the Aryans as having come from outside ; they considered *Sapta Sindhu* as their original home. Dr. A. S. Altekar's theory about the co-existence of the Aryans and the Harappans for about five centuries (B. C. 2000—B. C. 1500) points in the same direction.

It is possible, the original home of the Aryans was in *Sapta Sindhu*, from where they migrated in different waves in ancient times to various regions in Asia and Europe. It is the cultural and not linguistic and ethnological data that render substantial help in solving the riddle of the Aryan cradle.

GANA—THE MOST ANCIENT ARYAN SOCIETY

[*Summary*]

RAMCHANDRA JAIN

The word *Gana* is traced to *gan*. Indo-European parallels have been given. The root of its opposite word '*Jana*' is traced to—*Jan*. *Gana* is artificial aggregation of human beings while *Jana* refers to consanguine group.

Gana was constituted of various Samudayas. *Gana* was tribal collective. Its members were not independent people but existed only as its inseparable parts. This institution originated in nomadic barbarian stage of Aryan life. Primarily, *Gana* signified the aggregation of domesticated animals such as cows and camels. When human *Ganas* were formed. it came to be used in relation to them also. The chief shepherd became the *Ganapati*. He was the undisputed master of all the constituents of *Gana*.

Chief function of *Gana* was accumulation and preservation of material wealth. All wealth belonged to *Gana*.

The social life of *Gana* was founded on promiscuous sex-relationship. Mass sexual intercourse was carried on in the presence of fire; the Soma invigorated all. Males and females without any distinction of the relationship of father and daughter, brother and sister, mother and son enjoyed freely with unanimity of mind and purpose as *Jaras* and *Jayas* in the popular tribal festival called *Samana*.

The whole *Gana* was an armed organisation, every member acting as a soldier.

The possibility of the prevalence of *Gana* institution amongst Aryo-Greeks, Aryo-Hittites and Aryo-Kassites has been examined. Lewes H. Morgan's view that Ganas were founded on consanguinity and had the system of electing their chiefs has been examined and found incorrect.

The Aryo-Brahma institution of *Gana* was not a tribal republic. They borrowed the elective institution of *Rajan*, the leader of *Jana* or republic from their adversaries the Bharatiyans whom they called *Asuras*. K. P. Jayaswal's views on the subject have been examined.

Gana was the most ancient Aryan Society. It was a tribal collective having its tribal dictator, the *Ganapati*.

HISTORY OF BHINMAL

K. C. JAIN

The old name Bhinmal, which is situated in 25°N and 72° 16″E about 105 miles south west of Jodhpur, is Srimala. There are different views about the origin of the name of Bhinmal.[1] Actually, the early name of the place was Bhillamala which is so often mentioned in the works[2] written in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. This name was due to the population of the Bhills. In course of time, it was converted into Bhinmal. Padmanabha, who lived in the 15th century A.D., called it the Brahmapuri of the Chauhanas.

The early history of Bhinmal is somehow doubtful. In about 625 A.D., the King Varmalata was ruling over this place. He seems to have enjoyed a long rule because both Rajilla and his father Satriyasrava ruled as his feudatories one after another over Vasantagadh.[3] The King Varmalata is almost certainly identical with the king of the same name whose Prime Minister Suprabhadeva was the grandfather of the famous poet Magha, who lived in 680 A.D. Further, it is known from the *Nisithachurni,* written in 676 A.D., that the silver coins current in Srimala at that time were well known by the term *Varmalata* after its ruler.[4] Since Brahma Gupta wrote his great work *Brahmasphuta-Siddhanta* under the patronage of king Vyaghramukha of the Chapa dynasty in 628 A.D. and called himself *Bhillamalakacharya*[5], it is possible that this dynasty had its capital at Bhillamala. Whether the king ruled at Bhillamala or elsewhere is a matter of controversy. He may write his work under the foreign ruler. Yuan Chwang, who visited Bhillamala in about 641 A.D., refers to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom as Pi-lo-mo-lo. According to Yuan Chwang, the king of this place was a Kshatriya, celebrated for his wisdom and virtue, a profound believer in Buddhism and a man of exceptional abilities. He was just 20 years old. The people of this place were flourishing. Brahmanism dominated the city. There was only one Buddhist monastery with 100 brothers.[6] But somehow, the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhinmal is doubtful because he notes its distance as 300 miles north of Valabhi. We should look for the capital further north and Badmer would be more probable site. This town cannot be the capital of the Chapa and the Gurjaras at the same time because we cannot identify the Chapas with those of the Gurjaras. In the eighth century A.D., this place appears to have been attacked by the Arabs when they occupied Sindh in 712 A.D.. They sent Muslim forces afterwards to invade Marwar, Ujjain, Malwa and Gurjaradesa. As Baladuri[7] says that they conquered

Al-Bailman and Jurz. Al-Bailman is identified with Bhillamala and Jurz is Gujarat.

In 985 A.D., when Munja, the ruler of Malwa, defeated Baliraja (the ruler of Nadol), Bhinmal was under the Chauhanas[8]. He appointed his nephew Dusala to govern Bhillamala, who became the founder of the Bhinmal branch of the Paramara dynasty. In the early years of the 11th century, Devaraja of this family obtained the title of '*maru-mandala*' from Chahamana Durlabharaja of Sakambhari[9]. In 1002 A.D., he gave the grant of a field to one Aurka-charya, the head of the temple of Siddheshvara Mahadeva, on the occasion of Lunar eclipse.[10] Krishnaraja, (1060-66) grandson of Devaraja, was put into prison by the Chalukya Bhim I. He was released by the Chahamana Balaprasada of Nadol[11] and ruled as an independent king. After Krishnaraja II, Sochchharaja became the ruler. He was succeeded by Udayaraja. He and his successors acknowledged the sovereignty of the Chalukyas of Gujarat. He fought at Choda, Gauda, Karnata and Malava for his master Solanki Jayasimha Siddharaja. His son and successor Somesvara, son of Udayaraja, recovered the lost possession of Sindhurajapura by the favour of Jayasimha and in 1148 A.D., got it confirmed by Solanki Kumarapala[12]. The next known king after Somesvara is Jayasimha (1182 A.D.) who seems to have been succeeded by Salakha. In the early years of the 13th century A.D., it came under the supremacy of the Chahamanas of Jalor. From the Sundha inscription, it is known to have been ruled by Udayasimha[13] whose inscriptions of the time between 1205 A.D. and 1249 A.D. have been discovered. Alauddin also destroyed Srimala when he conquered Jalor from Kanhadadeva. Afterwards it remained under the control of Jalor-Pathanas. In about the 18th century, it came under the possession of the Rathors of Jodhpur.

In the reign of early Hindu rulers, Srimala became the premier city of Northern India. According to the tradition prescribed in the *Srimalapurana*, a work of the 14th century A.D., the city was about 15 to 20 miles in extent, laid out in the shape of a square. There were several temples of Ganapatis, Kshetrapalas, Chandikadevis, Sivalingas and others. It had 84 gates[14]. Making allowance for the poetic exaggeration and local pride, there is no doubt that it was the most flourishing town in the past. It was the home of artists who were invited from outside places. From an inscription of the seventh century A.D., found at Nagara, it is known that the stepwell of this place was constructed by the *Suttradharas* Suryavarmana, Grahavarmana and Gangavarmana, sons of Grahabhata, a *Suttradhara* of Bhillamala. They were expert sculptors and architects and were efficient in the duties of Suttradhara[15].

The temple Bhinmal known as Jagatasvami was one of the most famous and earliest temples of Rajasthan. It would certainly have, if preserved, shed some light not only on the architecture but also on the religious conditions of this region. The '*torana*' of this temple in the *Srimala Mahatmya* is represented to have been brought from heaven.[16] It must have been considered very old at the time when the *Srimala Mahatmya* was composed. Actually, this temple seems to have been built during the reign of the Gurjara Pratiharas who were highly devoted to sun-worship. The festival was held at this place in the month of *Asvin* because in almost all the inscriptions of the temple, this festival has been referred to again and again. On this occasion, oblation was to be offered and for the permanent maintenance of this worship, various gifts have been recorded by persons of different distinctions during the reign of the Paramaras and Chauhanas. One of the inscriptions dated 1160 A.D. of the reign of Paramara king Krishnaraja tells us that the temple of Jagatasvami was repaired by certain persons of whom two were of the Dharkata and one of the Pragvat caste. It is curious that both were Jainas and contributed to the repairs of the temple. They restored the temple after inducing kings, princes, Brahmanas, *Mahajanas* and citizens to resort to Saiva *Dharma*[17]. The Paramara king Krishnaraja also made gifts to the temple[18]. During the reign of the Chauhanas of Jalor, the popularity of this temple continued. In 1205 A.D., 1248 A.D. and 1249 A.D., during the reign of the Chauhana ruler Udaisimha, certain grants were made to meet the expenses for the worship of the temple of Jagatasvami[19]. When Chachigadeva, the son of Udaisimha, became the ruler, he himself gave certain gifts for the worship of Ahudesvara, another name of Sun temple, in 1271 A.D.[20]. An inscription dated 1277 A.D. mentions some gifts for the sun temple given by Devaka in the name of Chauhana Chamundaraja when Chachigadeva was ruling[21]. After Chachigadeva, his son Samanta Simha became the ruler in whose reign certain gifts were given by some persons of Jalor[22] in 1282 A.D., and by Rathor Luna Simha in 1292 A.D., for the worship of Sun God[23].

Besides the temple of sun, Bhinmal was a great centre of Jainism and there were several Jain temples. An inscription of 1276 A.D. found here tells us that Mahavira in person came to Srimala[24]. This is supported by the *Srimalamahatmya*, a work of about the 13th century A.D., which gives an account of the dissemination of Jainism in Srimala. Gautama Ganadhara went to Kashmir where he was converted to Jainism by Mahavira. After his return to Srimala, he converted the Vaisyas to Jainism and composed the *Kalpasutra, Bhagavatisutra, Mahavira Janma Sutra* and other works[25]. These statements are of a very late period and, therefore, cannot be relied upon. But it transpires from these that in the 12th century A.D. Jainism was considered to be a very old religion in Bhinmal. From a *prasasti* of the *Kuvalayamala* of Udyotana Suri written in 778 A.D., at Jalor, it is known that his ancestor Sivachandra Gani came to Bhinmal from the Punjab for pilgrimage and his disciple Yakshadatta and others adorned the Gurjara land with the temples[26].

Siddhasena Suri refers to this place as a holy place in the *Sakalatirthastotra*[27]. The well-known poet Dhanapala of the 11th century A.D. in his poem *Satyapuriya Mahaviratsaha* informs us about the Jaina image of Mahavira[28]. Jinaprabha Suri in the *Vividhatirtha Kalpa* mentions it as a holy place of Vira[29]. Like the temple of Jagatasvami, this temple of Mahavira was famous and grants were made to it from time to time. An inscription of 1276 A.D. mentions some gifts for the worship of Mahaviradeva given by Karmasimha, governor of Sanchor, Ratnapura, Radadhara in charge of the export and import department of Bhinmal in the reign of Chauhana Chachigadeva[30]. Besides, there were other Jaina temples such as Santinatha, Parsvanatha etc. In the *prasasti* of the *Kalpasutra* dated 1489 A.D., it is known that Kuladhara Saha constructed the Jaina temple in the 13th century A.D.[31]. According to the *Upakesagachchhaprabandha*, there were two Jaina temples of Upakesa Gachchha in the 14th century A.D.[32]. In the 16th century A.D., Sreshthi Toda has been described as the *Goshthika* of Santinatha[33]. In the medieval times, the temple of Parsvanatha of this place was very famous. The miracles of the image of Parsvanatha have been described in the *Tirthamalas*[34]. In 1605 A.D., Punya Kamala has written the *Parsvanathastavana* in honour of this deity[35]. Pt. Mahima has described the six temples of this place in his *Chaityaparipati*[36]. From the *Tirthamalas*, written in medieval times, we get the information of the prosperity of Bhinmal[37].

Besides, Bhinmal also remained a great seat of learning. The scholars of this place were famous for their learning and scholarship and their fame spread far and wide. The famous astronomer Brahma Gupta wrote the *Brahmasphuta-siddhanta* in 628 A.D. The well-known scholar Siddharshi, who belonged to this place, wrote the *Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha* in 905 A.D. The copy of the *Santinathacharitra* was written in 1327 A.D.[38]. Gunavijaya wrote here a portion of the commentary on the *Vijayaprasastikavya*. The Jaina Ramayana was written by Vijaya Gani in 1595 A.D.[39].

Srimalis both among the Brahmanas and the Jainas came into prominence on account of Srimala. The Srimali Brahmanas of this place were famous for their Vedic learning. It is for this reason that Padmanabha calls it the Brahmapuri of the Chauhanas of Marwar. The Srimalis among the Jainas originated from this place. They were converted to Jainism by the Jaina saints in about the eighth century A.D. It is said that the Poravalas originated simultaneously with Srimalis from Srimala in the eighth century A.D. The people of the eastern gate of Srimala, who accepted Jainism from the Jaina saints in the eighth century A.D., were called Poravalas. The forefathers of Lollaka of Poravala caste, who constructed the Jaina temple at Bhijaulia, originally lived at Srimalapattana[40]. In course of time, the Srimalis and Poravalas multiplied and spread specially in Jodhpur, Udaipur and Sirohi.

[1] Because of abundance of wealth in this town, it was often called *Srimala*. According to the *Srimala Mahatmya*, from *Srimala* it began to be called Bhinmal because of the dearth of the wealth. Wealthy people left it and migrated to other places on account of its destruction at the hands of the Muslims. The authors of the *Prabhavaka-charitra* and the *Prabandhakosa* hold that this name was given by Bhoja, the famous ruler of Malwa, at the sight of the poor and miserable condition of Magha, the great poet of Srimala. But these views are not tenable.

[2] *Nisithachurni* (10-225) of 676 A.D. *Kuvalayavamala* of 778 A.D. and *Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha* of 905 A.D.

[3] E. I., IX, p. 189.
[4] N. C., 10-225.
[5] RI, I, p. 20.
[6] YTIT, p. 249.
[7] HIED, I, p. 126.
[8] EI, IX, p. 71.
[9] The Struggle for Empire, pp. 73-74.
[10] ARSMJ, 1934, p. 6.
[11] EI, IX, p. 72.
[12] ARSMA, 1930, p. 10.
[13] EI, IX, 73.
[14] SP, p. 189.
[15] BK, I, p. 267.
[16] SP, p. 189.
[17] PRAS. wc., 1908, p. 36.
[18] ARSMJ, 1922, No. 15.
[19] ARSMJ, 1922, Nos. 16, 17 and 18.
[20] *Ibid.*, No. 19.
[21] *Ibid.*, No. 21
[22] *Ibid.*, No. 22.
[23] *Ibid.*, No. 23.
[24] PRAS., wc., 1907, p. 35.
[25] SP, pp. 633-63.
[26] JBORS, 1928, March, p. 28.
[27] GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
[28] JSS, III, 1.
[29] VTK, p. 86.
[30] ARSMJ, 1922, No. 20.
[31] SPS, 47.
[32] UGP.
[33] Spat. III, No. 1.
[34] Spat, III, No. 1.
[35] JSP, IX, p. 114.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
[39] Spat, III, No. 1.
[40] EI, XXVI, p. 84.

1. ARSMJ = Annual Report Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.
2. BK = Bharatakaumudi.
3. EI = Epigraphia Indica.
4. GOS = Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

5. HIED = History of India as told by its own historians, Ed. by Elliot and John Dowson.
6. JBORS = Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society.
7. JSS = Jaina Sahitya Samsodhaka.
8. JSP = Jaina Satyaprakasa.
9. NC = Nisithachurni.
10. PRAS.wc = Progress Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
11. RI = Rajasthana ka Itihasa.
12. SP = Srimalapurana.
13. SPS = Sri Prasasti Samgraha.
14. Spat = Sodhapatrika.
15. UGP = Upakesagachchhaprabandha.
16. VTK = Vividhatirthakalpa.
17. YTIT = On Yuan Chwang's travels in India by Thomas Walters.

POST-BHARATA WAR KINGS OF VIDEHA AS KNOWN FROM THE *MAHABHARATA*

YOGENDRA MISHRA

The *Mahabharata* is a fruitful source for post-Bharata War Videhan history, though it has not yet been used for this purpose. It was Pargiter who noticed the more important of the post-Bharata War Mahabharatan Janakas and fixed their positions in a chronological setting in the following way[1]:—

Generation No.	Kuru-Pauravas	Janakas of Videha
95	Abhimanyu	....
96	Parikshit II	....
97	Janamejaya III	....
98	Satanika	Janaka-Ugrasena
99	Asvamedhadatta	....
100	Adhisimakrishna	....
a	....	....
b	....	Janaka-Janadeva
c	....	Janaka-Dharmadhvaja
d	....	....
e	....	Janaki-Ayasthuna
f	....	....

Of these Janaki-Ayasthuna is known only from the *Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad* (VII.3.10) and seems to be a Rishi teacher[2]. Thus the more famous Janakas of Videha noticed by Pargiter (with possible generation Nos.) are as follows:—

98 Janaka-Ugrasena
102 Janaka-Janadeva
103 Janaka-Dharmadhvaja

We have been able to find out eight or nine post-War Janakas in the *Mahabharata* and have tentatively put them in a chronological setting as well, presuming, of course, that there were twelve generations of the Janakas of Videha between the Bharata War and the extinction of the line. The Janakas not found in the *Mahabharata* have been put within brackets in the following list:—

95 (Janaka)
96 (Janaka)
97 Indradyumna
98 Ugrasena Janaka Pushkaramalin Aindradyumni
99 (Janaka)
100 Devarata
101 Janaka Daivarati (Janaka the Great?)
102 Janadeva Janaka
103 Dharmadhvaja Janaka
104 'Videharaja' Janaka (personal name unknown)
105 Nimi
106 Karala Janaka

We now take them up one by one.

INDRADYUMNA

One Janaka of Videha is called Aindradyumni[3]. From this epithet his father's name may be inferred to have been Indradyumna. We do not possess any details about Indradyumna. One Indradyumna is mentioned in the *Mahabharata*[4], but his territory is not indicated. He might or might not be the father of Janaka Aindradyumni.

UGRASENA JANAKA PUSHKARAMALIN AINDRADYUMNI

Being called Aindradyumni, he was evidently the son of Indradyumna. His personal name appears to be Ugrasena[5]. One of his epithets seems to be Pushkaramalin[6].

It was Ugrasena Janaka who probably revived the greatness of Mithila. As all other mountains are inferior to the Mainaka, as calves are inferior to the ox, so were all the other kings of the earth inferior to the king of Mithila[7] (Ugrasena). This was the opinion of Ashtavakra who regards him as 'the foremost of all kings'[8]. Not only that. This Videhan king is also called *Janakanam varishtha*, *i.e.*, 'best of Janaka's race' and a *Samrat*[9]. The substance of these Mahabharatan statements may be correct. He was a great performer of sacrifices and in this respect he is compared with Yayati[10]. It was one such sacrifice which was attended by Ashtavakra, son of Kahoda and Sujata (daughter of Uddalaka), who defeated Vandin, son of a Suta[11] in an intellectual controversy and rescued his father[12].

The wife of a Paurava prince, Satanika, the son of Janamejaya, was a Vaidehi[13], *i.e.*, a princess of Videha. Satanika belongs to step No. 98 in Pargiter's scheme[14] and is a contemporary of Ugrasena Janaka in his view. Hence we may suppose that Satanika probably married the daughter of Ugrasena Janaka who sought to enhance his influence by means of this matrimonial alliance.

DEVARATA

A Janaka of Videha is called Daivarati[15]. Hence his father's name may be inferred to have been Devarata. This Devarata must be Devarata the Second[16], because he is the contemporary of Yajnavalkya who took the management of the royal sacrifice. In that sacrifice a quarrel arose between Yajnavalkya and his maternal uncle (Vaisampayana) as to who should be allowed to take the sacrificial fee that was paid for the recitation of the *Vedas*. In the very presence of Devala, Yajnavalkya took half of that fee. Devarata, Sumanta, Paila and Jaimini and other ascetics all agreed to that arrangement[17].

JANAKA DAIVARATI

The personal name[18] of this king is not known. His patronymic was Daivarati[19] which indicates that he was the son of Devarata Janaka (*i.e.*, Devarata the Second). The *Mahabharata*[20] gives a long conversation spread over nine chapters between Janaka Daivarati and Yajnavalkya who instructs the Videhan king on spiritual matters. This Yajnavalkya is the famous one because he is here connected with the *Satapatha*, the *Yajus* and the auxiliary literature[21]. Having received instruction from the famous sage, king Daivarati acquired the knowledge of the religion of liberation and made a gift of cows, gold, gems and jewels to the Brahmanas. Installing his son in the sovereignty of the Videhas, the old king began to lead the life of a Yati[22] and study the science of the Sankhyas and the Yogins.

There are some unnamed Janakas some of whom may conveniently be identified with this Janaka Daivarati who appears to be the Janaka Vaideha of the Upanishads because of the common teachership of Yajnavalkya. One Janaka Vaideha, king of Videha, had been instructed by a learned Brahmana named Asman on the subjects of old age, death and the like[23]. We do not know this Asman from any other source. But we know Asvala[24] to be the Hotri priest of Janaka Vaideha of Upanishadic fame. Hence it is not unlikely that the two were the same, and the different names handed down to us are due to the later changes in the script[25]. Again we learn that one Janaka, king of Videha, was to renounce the world when he was persuaded by his wife, Kausayla[26], not to adopt such a course[27]. Here we are reminded of Mahajanaka II of the Jataka[28] who too had been implored by his wife, Sivalidevi, not to renounce the world. This Videhan queen (K)ausalya of the *Mahabharata* might either be Sivali (-devi) of the *Jataka* or another wife of the king of Videha.

At some places the *Mahabharata* mentions Janaka without indicating his territory. Some of these references[29] may mean Janaka Daivarati whom we feel inclined to identify with Janaka Vaideha of the *Upanishads* and Mahajanaka II of the *Jataka*.

JANADEVA JANAKA

Janadeva[30] Janaka was a king of Mithila. He was ever engaged in thinking of the courses of conduct that might lead to the attainment of Brahma. One hundred preceptors always used to live in his palace. Once his court was visited by Panchasikha, who was the greatest of all the disciples of Asuri. The hundred preceptors were defeated and Janadeva Janaka got instruction from Panchasikha.

The mention of Asuri[31] indicates that Janadeva Janaka flourished in the post-Bharata War era.

DHARMADHVAJA JANAKA

Dharmadhvaja[32] Janaka was a king of Mithila and of the Videhas. He was highly interested in spiritual matters. He had been the beloved disciple of Bhikshu Panchasikha[33] of Parasara's family, an old teacher. This appears to be correct because the *Mahabharata*[34] records a conversation between Bhikshu Panchasikha and a king Vaideha Janaka who may possibly be this Dharmadhvaja Janaka become Janadeva Janaka; another (and probably older) king is described quite independently and the discourse between him and Panchasikha is given in two consecutive chapters[35]. Thus when it is positively stated that Dharmadhvaja (also, like Janadeva), was a disciple of Panchasikha and the preceding chapter[36] gives the discourse between a Vaideha Janaka and Panchasikha, we have but to identify this Vaideha Janaka with Dharmadhvaja Janaka.

Another person associated with the spiritual life of Dharmadhvaja Janaka was Sulabha Bhikshuki. A long conversation between these two is given in the *Mahabharata*[37].

'VIDEHARAJA' JANAKA

We do not know the personal name of this 'king of Videha'. This philosopher-king called simply 'Videharaja'[38] instructed Mandavya[39] who is mentioned as a teacher and as a pupil of Kautsa in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (X.6.5.9). Mandavya appears to be slightly later than Panchasikha if we compare relevant lists of teachers[40]. We have fixed his chronological position accordingly.

NIMI

The names Nimi and Nimi Vaideha have been mentioned in the *Mahabharata*[41] several times, but we are not sure whether the founder or the penultimate sovereign is intended. In our opinion the references are mostly about the penultimate sovereign who may be called Nimi II for the sake of convenience.

KARALA JANAKA

Karala Janaka is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (XII.302-308) and the *Brahma-Purana* (Chs. 240-244) as a king of Mithila interested in spiritual matters and engaged in discussing with the sage Vasistha on some philosophical doctrines. His end and the fact of his being the last ruler of the Janaka dynasty are available not in these sources but in other ones[42].

SOME UNCERTAIN JANAKAS

There are some Janakas who are not mentioned by their personal names, but by the general term 'Janaka'. Some[43], though not all, of them might have belonged to the post-Bharata War era. There are other uncertain cases as well. A princess of the house of Janaka, the king of the Videhas, emphasised obedience to husbands for wives[44]. We do not know her father's name or time. There was a discourse between a Brahmana and king Janaka[45]. This Brahmana was Dharma himself who had come to test him. This Janaka was a king of Mithila[46] but we do not know when exactly he flourished if the story has anything historical in it. One Vasumat[47], son of 'Janaka', is said to be a lover of spiritual knowledge. He got instruction from a Bhargava Rishi of the Brahmana caste[48]. One Sukratu was the grandson of Janaka, the king of the Videhas. He was also a knower of spiritual knowledge and his opinion was quoted[49]. We do not know about this Vasumat or Sukratu as to when he flourished.

We however, do not propound any theory about these Janakas or persons connected with them. We have only pointed out a few cases whose positions in the chronological, or even genealogical, frame-work it is difficult to determine.

[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922), p. 330. "Kings later than the battle are set out" in this list (*ibid.*, p. 143).

[2] S.B.E., 44, p. 61, n. 4 (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 32).

[3] *Mbh.*, III.133.4.

[4] *Mbh.*, II.8.21.

[5] *Mbh.*, III.134.1. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 330. Sörensen, *Index*, p. 687. M. N. Dutt, however, does not take it as a personal name and translates the word as 'commander of large army' (English translation of the *Mahabharata*, *Vana-parva*, Calcutta, 1896, p, 196).

[6] *Mbh.*, III.133.13. M. N. Dutt, not taking it as an epithet, translates the word as 'king (Janaka) adorned with the garlands of lotuses'.

[7] *Mbh.*, III.134.5. Quoted by Raychaudhuri in P.H.A.I., p. 48.

[8] *Mbh.*, III.134.6.

[9] *Mbh.*, III.133.17.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Mbh.*, III.134.21, 38.

[12] For an account see *Mbh.*, III.132-34.

[13] *Mbh.*, I.95.86.

[14] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 330 (synchronistic chart).

[15] *Mbh.*, XII.310.4; 318.95.

[16] Devarata (step no. 17 in Pargiter's list) is noted for obtaining the famous bow of Siva (*Ram*, I.66.8; 75.21).

[17] *Mbh.*, XII.318, 18-20.

[18] Triveda presumes that Daivarati was Brihadratha (*Ram*, I.71.6), son of Devarata (no. 17 in Pargiter's list), *i.e.*, Devarata the First (J.B.R.S., 1951, Parts III-IV, p. 103). This does not appear feasible to us.

[19] *Mbh.*, XII.310.4; 318.95.

[20] XII.310-318.

[21] *Mbh.*, XII.318 (beginning).

[22] *Mbh.*, XII.318.97.

[23] *Mbh.*, XII.28.

[24] *Brih. Up.*, III.1.2, 10. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 44.

[25] A good case of this kind is reported by the authors of the *Vedic Index*, (I, p. 41) when they quote that *asma-gandha* ('rock-smell') of the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (XIII.8.1.16) is probably identical with the late *asva-gandha* ('horse-smell'). This was originally suggested by Julius Eggeling in S.B.E., 44, p. 427, n.4.

[26] *Mbh.*, XII.18.12.

[27] *Mbh.*, XII.18.

[28] No. 539.

[29] *Mbh.*, II.8.19; III.2.20; VI.27.20; XIII.165.50.

[30] *Mbh.*, XII.218.3; 219.1. *Naradiya-Purana*, I.45.5. For an account see *Mbh.*, XII.218-19 and *Naradiya*, I.45. This *Naradiya* source had not been noticed before

[31] In both the sources.

[32] *Mbh.*, XII.320.4.

[33] *Mbh.*, XII.320.24.

[34] *Mbh.*, XII.319.

[35] *Mbh.*, XII.218-19.

[36] *Mbh.*, XII.319.

[37] *Mbh.*, XII.320.

[38] *Mbh.*, XII.276.3.

[39] *Mbh.*, XII.276.3, 14.

[40] Contained in *Sat. Br.* (X.6.5.9) and *Brh. Up.* (VI.5.2-3)); Panchasikha was Asuri's disciple. One Mandavya is mentioned in the *Jataka* (Cowell: *Jataka*, No. 444, Vol. IV, pp. 17-22) as a contemporary of Kanha Dipayana (= Krishna

Dvaipayana Vyasa).

[41] The *Mbh.* mentions Nimi at the following places—I.1.234; II.8.9; XII.234.26; XIII.115.73, 137.11, 165.56.

[42] *Arthasastra* (I.6), *Buddha-charita* (IV.80), *Nimi-Jataka*.

[43] *E.g., Mbh.,* II.8.19; III.2.20; XIII.165.50.

[44] *Mbh.,* XIII.46.12-13.

[45] *Mbh.,* XIV.32.

[46] *Mbh.,* XIV.32.9.

[47] *Mbh.,* XII.309-2.

[48] *Mbh.,* XII.309.

[39] *Mbh.,* XIII.45.6.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE AUDUMBARAS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

The Audumbaras, also known as the Udumbaras or Odumbaras were one of the prominent peoples of ancient India. The earliest reference to them is found in the *Ganapatha* of Panini[1] where they have been placed under the *Rajanya* class of peoples. Besides the *Ganapatha* there are other ancient Indian literary texts such as the *Mahabhasya*[2], *Mahabharata*[3], *Harivamsa*[4], the *Puranas*[5], *Brihatsamhita*[6], *Chandravyakarana*[7], *Kasika*[8], *Vaijayanti*[9] and *Ganaratnamahodadhi*[10] which contain numerous references to them. Pliny also appears to have mentioned them under the name Odomboerae[11]. The *Vinayapitaka*[12] and the *Mahamayuri*[13] refer to a place called Udumbara which evidently was named after the tribe.

The Audumbaras are credited with having issued coins. Cunnningham found six of their coins at Pathankot in the Gurudaspur district in North Punjab along with those of Zoilus, Gondophares, Kanishka and Huvishka[14]. Subsequently a large number of coins of the tribe in question was discovered at Irippal in the Kangra district in North Punjab[15]. Besides these, stray coins to be attributed to them have been recovered from other places in North Punjab[16]. On the basis of the findspots of their coins, Allan has located the Audumbaras in the area formed by "the valley of the Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi."[17] Numismatic considerations tend to place them in the period extending from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D.

But the Audumbaras appear to have flourished long before the second century B.C. The earliest reference to them, as has been mentioned before, is found in the *Ganapatha*. It is generally believed that the major portion of the work, if not the whole, was composed by Panini who may be placed somewhere in the fifth century B.C. Hence the tribe certainly existed in the fifth century B.C.

That the Audumbaras flourished even before the fifth century B.C. is not unlikely. Among the literary texts mentioned above the most important in the present case is the *Chandravyakarana*, composed by a Buddhist scholar named Chandragomin. Chandragomin is usually believed to have flourished about the fifth century A.D[18]. A *vritti* on Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*, the Chandravyakarana, gives us an important piece of information which is as follows:[19]

udumbarastilakhala madrakara yugandharah
bhulingah saradandascha salvavayavasamjnitah

The verse can be translated thus: Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakara, Yugandhara. Bhulinga and Saradanda—are the sections of the Salvas.

The fact stated in the verse is supported by the *Kasika*[20] and the *Vaijayanti*[21], the first being a work of the seventh century A.D. and the latter of the twelfth century A.D. The tradition regarding the Audumbaras as their being one of the sections of the Salvas is thus found to have been well established by the time of Chandragomin.

Now, let us turn our attention to the Salvas to whom belonged the Audumbaras. The earliest mention of the Salvas is met with in the *Satapatha Brahmana* which is roughly taken to have been composed sometime in the eighth century B.C. According to a passage occurring in this text:

yadadvai ma 'idabhakarama samapposyata mamaiva praja
sallvanam rajam'o' bhavishyanmama brahmano mama
vvaisya yattu ma'etavatkarmanah samapi tena ma'ubha
yatha sallvanprajatireshat'iti sa' esha eva sriresha
esho''nnadah||X. 4. 1. 10.

Eggeling translates it as follows:[22] "(Syaparna once said) 'if this my sacrificial performance be complete, my own race would become the kings (nobles), Brahmanas and the peasants of the Salvas; but even by that much of my work which has been completed my race will surpass the Salvas in both ways;—for this (Agni, the fire-altar), indeed, is (social) eminence and fame, and an eater of food".

The above passage bears testimony not only to the antiquity of the Salvas but also to the high degree of eminence and prosperity attained by them.

The tradition recorded in the quoted verse of the *Chandravyakarana* may refer at least to the time of the Vedic text when the Salvas were already a powerful people. They could not have reached the position as reflected in the *Satapatha Brahmana* without antecedent growth and preparation. This may require the beginning of their history to be traced to a period even earlier than the time of the composition of the *Satapatha Brahmana*. The different constituent sections of the Salvas, including the Audumbaras may have existed in the same period and their amalgamation was probably one of the causes of their political and material success as witnessed in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. In this connection, reference may be made to the Madrakaras who are also said to have formed one of the allied tribes along with the Audumbaras. These people appear in the *Aitareya Brahmana*[23] and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*,[24] a fact which may also suggest the contemporaneity of the Audumbaras with the Salvas of the *Satapatha Brahmana*. Another people, the Yugandharas, whom the *Chandravyakarana* includes in the Salva group are mentioned in the *Mantrapatha*[25], the date of the composition of which may not have been far from the date of the composition of the *Satapatha Brahmana*. The Salvas who in this text are alluded to as Salva have been said "to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariot on the banks of the Yamuna."

We shall not be wrong in concluding therefore that the Audumbaras existed in the Brahmana period although they have not been mentioned explicitly in contemporary texts. Probably they had not yet become sufficiently prominent which may account for the omission of their name in the texts such as the *Satapatha Brahmana*.

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[1] *Rajanyadibhyo bun:* IV.2.53. With reference to the rule, a list of peoples has been given in the Ganapatha. These peoples have been classed as the *Rajanyas* and the Udumbaras were one of them.

[2] II.4.58.

[3] Chapter 52, Line XV, verse 1869 (Bangavasi Edition).

[4] Sloka 1466.

[5] The Puranas like the *Vayu* (91.98), *Brahmanda* (III.66.70), *Markandeya* (58.10) etc., contain references to the Udumbaras.

[6] *Brihatsamhita*, XIV, verse 4.

[7] II.4.103. K. C. Chatterji's edition, p. 168.

[8] 4.1.173. Damodara Sastri's edition, p. 121.

[9] Verse 39. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 11, pp. 219-26, also *Our Heritage*, Vol. 7, Part 1, p. 2.

[10] Verse 266. Eggeling's edition, p. 314.

[11] *Historia Naturalis*, VI, Sec. 75.

[12] II.299.

[13] Mahamayuri, Edited by Sylvan Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 44.

[14] *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115-17.

[15] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement, XXII, pp. 247 ff.

[16] *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 160-61.

[17] *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum*, Ancient India, p. lxxxvii.

[18] *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), pp. 296 ff.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

[20] *Loc. cit.*

[21] *Loc. cit.*
[22] *Satapatha Brahmana* (Sacred Books of the East), p. 344.
[23] VII.14.3.
[24] III.3, 1; 7, 1.
[25] II.11, 12.

THE DURATION OF IKSVAKU RULE

M. RAMA RAO

Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently propounded a novel theory ascribing the end of Iksvaku rule after a duration of 120 years to 345 A.D., and the commencement of Pallava rule to 315 A.D. and postulating an interregnum of ten years duration in the period of Iksvaku rule"[1]. This paper is devoted to a careful examination of this theory.

Two inscriptions unearthed during the course of the excavations at Nagarjunakonda are the main basis of this novel theory. One of these records belongs to the reign of the second Iksvaku king, Virapurusadatta and is said to contain the cyclic year *VIJAYA*. The other belong to the time of his son, Camtamula I and is also said to contain the cyclic year *VIJAYA*. These two cyclic years are taken to correspond to 273-74 and 333-334 A.D., respectively.

Taking 333-334 A.D. to be the last regnal year of Camtamula II and adding to it, eleven years, the known duration of the rule of the last Iksvaku king, Rudraparusadatta, Dr. Sircar concludes that (334 + 11 =) 345 A.D. was the last year of Iksvaku rule. Taking 225 A.D. as the starting point he formulates the following chronology[2]:—

Camtamula I	...	...	...	225-250
Purusadatta	...	...	...	250-275
Camtamula II	...	...	...	285-334
Rudrapurusadatta		...	...	334-345

An inscription belonging to a new Abhira king, named Vasusena, dated in the 30th year, has also been found at Nagarjunakonda. Dr. Sircar holds that the 30th above was of the Traikuta-Abhira era which started in 248 A.D. and ascribes this inscription to 278-79 A.D. On this basis, he further postulates an Abhira interregnum in Iksvaku rule and assigns it to 275-285 A.D. If, as an alternative, the 30th year above is taken as the regnal year of Vasusena, this writer ascribes the record, on paleographical grounds, to either the second half of the 3rd century or the first half of the 4th century, suggesting in this case a joint attack of the Pallavas and the Abhiras as bringing about the downfall of the Iksvakus.

This writer reconstructs the early Pallava chronology as follows on the fundamental assumption that Iksvaku rule ended in 345 A.D.[3]:—

Simhavarman	315-45
Sivaskandavarman	345-55
Visnugopa	355-75
Skandavarman	375-85

This theory of Dr. Sircar in all its three aspects conflicts with certain well known and established facts of the history of the post-Satavahana period. It is also otherwise defective.

(1) *The Iksvaku approach*—Inscriptions mention the 20th year of Virapurasadatta, the 24th year of Camtamula II, and the 11th year of Rudrapurusadatta. This makes a total of 55 years. It is not known for how many years the first king Camtamula I ruled but since he was an *asvamedhin* and a powerful ruler,[4] he may be assigned a reign of about 20 years. It follows then that Iksvaku rule lasted for 75 years. It is possible that Satavahana rule ended about 220 A.D. Calculated from this date Iksvaku rule would end in 295 A.D. i.e., 50 years before the date prescribed by Dr. Sircar. Secondly, the total duration of Iksvaku rule according to Dr. Sircar's scheme would be 120 years and this is against the Iksvaku inscriptions which give a total of 55 years as shown above. Thirdly, while sticking to 11 years, known from inscription, as the duration of Rudrapurusadatta's reign, Dr. Sircar discards 24 years, the duration of the rule of Camtamula II as known from his inscriptions and postulates a duration of 49 years just in order to suit his theory. Similarly, as against the known duration of 20 years he makes the reign of Virapurusadatta extend over 25 years. This addition of thirty years is arbitrary and unjustified. In the fourth place, the so called Abhira interregnum between the reigns of Virapurusadatta and Camtamula II is thrust in so as to obtain a gap of sixty years between the two *Vijaya* years in the reigns of a father and his son. If the year 30 of Vasusena's inscription is taken to be his own regnal year this interregnum vanishes into thin air. Further, the renovation of the *Mahacaitya* of the Buddha and the construction of a number of *chaityagrihas* and *viharas* in the Nagarjunakonda valley took place, as testified to by inscriptions,[5] during the reigns of Virapurusadatta and his son, Camtamula II. This building activity would not have been possible had there been an interregnum between the two reigns. If for these strong reasons the ten years period of interregnum is deducted, the end of Iksvaku rule would be in 335 A.D. and not in 345 A.D.

(2) *The Brhatpalayana approach*—The Kondamudi plates[6] bring to light a king named Jayavarman of the Brhatpalayana gotra who ruled for at least ten years. The find spot of the grant and the village gifted

through it indicate that Jayavarman's kingdom extended up to Gudivada in the Krishna district in the west, the Kolleru lake in the West Godavary district in the north and included the northern part of the Guntur district in the south. Scholars have taken this Jayavarman to have been a contemporary of Pallava Yuvamaharajata Sivaskandavarman and assigned him to the closing years of the third century A.D.[7]. Jayavarman's independent rule could not have prevailed as long as the Iksvakus ruled. If Dr. Sircar's view is accepted Brhatpalayana rule must be ascribed to 345-355 A.D. But on the testimony of the Allahabad pillar inscription and the unimpeachable evidence of Salankayana grants, the Salankayanas were the rulers of the region both before and after the invasion of Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century and not the Brhatpalayanas whom they supplanted. Jayavarman's reign must, therefore, have begun at least fifty years before the date of the Gupta invasion. The end of Iksvaku rule must then be placed still earlier i.e., before 300 A.D.

(3) *The Salankayana approach*—A line of kings belonging to the Salankayana gotra, generally known as the Salankayanas, ruled over part of coastal Andhradesa for about a hundred and fifty years after the Iksvakus and before the Visnukundins. The Vaingeyaka-Hastivarman of the Allahabad inscription is taken to be a ruler of this family and identified with the first king of that name mentioned in the Pedavegi plates. Vijayadevavarman, *asvamedhin,* known from the Ellore Prakrit plates, is supposed to have preceded him. Another Prakrit grant of the time of Salankayana Nandivarman has come to light recently. This grant and the Kanukollo plates make it clear that three kings, Devavarman, Nandivarman and Hastivarman I, preceded Hastivarman II, the contemporary of Samudragupta[9]. Assigning a period of seventy-five years for these three kings and calculating back from about the middle of the fourth century A.D., we have to assign the beginning of Salankayana rule to about 275 A.D. and this must be the date of the end of Iksvaku rule, and Brhatpalayana rule. If Dr. Sircar's date, 345 A.D., is taken to mark the end of Iksvaku rule and ten years of Jayavarman are added to it we get 355 A.D. for the beginning of Salankayana rule. If these Salankayanas ruled for 150 years, the end of their rule would be in 505 A.D. Unimpeachable inscriptional evidence shows that it was the Visnukundins that were ruling over Vengi at this time and not the Salankayanas. Further, the Visnukundins ruled for about 150 years up to about 615 A.D. and this locates the beginning of their rule in 465 A.D. which marks also the end of Salankayana rule after a duration of 150 years. This shows that Salankayana rule began in 315 A.D. and that Jayavarman's rule started and Iksvaku rule ended in about 290 A.D. From this point of view also the prevalence of Iksvaku rule up to 345 A.D. becomes impossible.

(4) *The Pallava viewpoint*—Three Prakrit grants obtained from the Guntur district[10] show that the rule of the Pallavas of the Bharadvaja

gotra prevailed there and that there were at least four generations in the family—, Sivaskandavarman, Vijayabuddhavarman and Buddhyankura. The Simhavarman of the Manchikallu inscription is now admitted to have been the father and predecessor of Sivaskandavarman. Simhavarman, Sivaskandavarman and Buddhavarman must have ruled for about fifty years before the time of the Gupta invasion and of Visnugopa, its contemporary. This indicates the commencement of Pallava rule in the fourth quarter of the third century and the end of Iksvaku rule by that time. Dr. Sircar admits that Simhavarman was the first Pallava ruler but assigns him to 315-345 A.D. the latter being the last year of Iksvaku rule. That is untenable. In the Manchikallu inscription[11], Simhavarman is not called *Raja* or *Maharaja*. Manchikallu is very near Nagarjunakonda and this implies that Simhavarman put an end to Iksvaku rule just at the time of the setting up of the inscription about 315 A.D., the initial year of his rule according to Dr. Sircar. This proves that the prevalence of Iksvaku rule over the Guntur district in 315 A.D. or thereafter is impossible and that 345 A.D. for the end of Iksvaku rule is not tenable. Further, if as Dr. Sircar proposes, the invasion of Samudragupta took place in 370 A.D. and if Pallava Simhavarman died in 345 A.D. the reigns of Sivaskandavarman and his son, Buddhavarman and possibly of his grandson, Buddhyankura also, have to be thrust into a short period of 35 years between 345-370 A.D.

For these strong reasons Dr. Sircar's view about Iksvaku and Pallava chronology cannot be accepted.

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXX-1, pp. 23-28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Nagarjunakonda inscriptions B2.
[5] *E.I.* X, Nagarjunakonda inscriptions.
[6] *E.I.* VI, pp. 315-319.
[7] Jahrs, Vol. V, p. 91.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 92-102; Bharati, August, 1924.
[9] *Bharati*, January, 1950, pp. 68-84.
[10] *E.I.* VI, pp. 84-89; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1-10; *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 143-146.
[11] M. Rama Rao, *Nagarjunakonda Souvenir*, p. 29.

A NOTE ON AN EXPRESSION IN THE ALLAHABAD PRASASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

SURESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

There has taken place some controversy among scholars regarding the reading and interpretation of an expression occurring in connection with Harisena's depiction of the tender qualities of Samudragupta in the beginning of line 26 of the Allahabad Prasasti. J. F. Fleet reads the portion as 'Kripana-dina-anatha-atura-jan-oddharanasa(ma)ntra-diksh-ady-upagata-manasah'[1]. In view of the fact that the word appearing before *diksha* and read by him as *Santra* does not convey any sense in the present context, he corrects it as mantra by emending into *ma*. Dr. D. C. Sircar accepts this emendation[2]. Fleet translates the whole expression as 'whose mind busied itself with the support and initiation of the miserable, the poor, the helpless and the afflicted. . . . .'[3]

H. R. Divekar finds fault with Fleet's reading and observes 'if we look to the plate we can easily see that the syllable following the word *diksha* is not *dyu* as given in the reading (of Fleet) but is *bhyu* clearly'[4]. He seems to be right in suggesting this emendation which is also accepted by Dr. D. C. Sircar[5].

Divekar moreover finds it difficult to accept Fleet's interpretation of the expression (based on the emended reading of *mantra* into *santra*) as it suffers from certain amount of vagueness. 'How and into what matter the miserable etc., are to be initiated is a mystery', Divekar observes[6]. He himself offers a new reading. He reads the syllable preceding *diksha* as *ttra* instead of *ntra* and arrives thereby at the word *sattra* meaning sacrifice, and gives his own interpretation on the basis of this reading.

Bratindranath Mukherjee, while writing in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, rejects Divekar's reading and accepts the emendation suggested by Fleet for palaeographical reasons. He writes, 'as the letter *ntra* is clearly written, there is no scope for emendation of the letter. The letter *sa* is also clearly inscribed ; but there is very little difference between the forms of the letters *sa* and *ma* of the Gupta Brahmi script (Eastern variety) of the period and it is possible that the engraver committed a mistake in having *sa* in place of *ma*, which was apparently the intended letter. Hence the emended word should be *mantra* as suggested by Fleet and not *sattra* as supposed by Divekar[7].

Now it is to be admitted that the normal reading of the word in question, as may be seen in the facsimile accompanying the inscription published by Fleet[8], should be *sattra*. But once we admit the possibility of an emendation as we have to, it seems that *sattra* is much capable of being the intended form as *mantra* is. The chief point of difference between *na* and *ta* in Gupta Brahmi (Eastern variety) consists in the presence or absence of a loop-mark on the left side of the letter and following the same line of arguments as provided by Mukherjee it is possible to think that the engraver committed a mistake in having *na* in place of *ta* which might have been the intended letter. A subsequent damage creating a loop-mark might also have resulted in the distortion of a *ta* into a *na*, though this is not an inevitable proposition in the present case. Divekar, however, correctly points out[9] that the first letter in the ligature *ta*, read by others as *na* is (in form) exactly like the *ta* in *gata* about the reading of which there is no dispute. This remarkable similarity should be given due consideration in an attempt to read the word correctly.

There is thus no inherent impossibility in accepting Divekar's reading or making an emendation to that effect if palaeographical considerations are taken in view.

Divekar explains the phrase 'sattra-diksh-abhy-upagata-manasah' in an ingenious way. He would find in it a reference to Samudragupta's desire for performing an Asvamedha Sacrifice which was given concrete shape after the engraving of the Allahabad Prasasti. He thus translates the whole passage as 'whose mind was engaged on being initiated for sacrifice and relieving the miserable etc.'[10]

But the interpretation seems not to be free from difficulty. Mukherjee rightly points out that it suffers from the defect which necessitates the combining of two completely different ideas, namely, the performance of the sacrifice, and the relief (of the distress) of the miserable, etc., in one single compound and goes against the practice normally followed with regard to the other compounds detailing the attainments of the emperor[11].

It remains now to be seen whether it is possible to clothe the reading proposed for the first time by Divekar with an interpretation which will both suit the context well and be free from the defect which besets Divekar's interpretation.

It may be noted at the outset that *sattra* (sadvastran) technically means a 'session', 'a great Soma sacrifice'. It may also mean sacrifice in general. *Diksha* bears with it a concept which is intimately connected with sacrifice. Hence the combination of *sattra* in a compound with *diksha* is very appropriate. In the opinion of the present writer the compound *sattra-diksha* had better to be taken here as a metaphorical expression without reference to any actual sacrifice.

The relieving (of the distress) of Kripana, dina, anatha, atura etc., is likened to the performance of a sacrifice, the common property presumably being the meritorious character of both. That such an interpretation of the compound is not unwarranted may be shown by referring a verse in the Abhijnana Sakuntalam of Kalidasa. The relevant portion reads, 'apann-abhaya-sattesudikshitah Khalu Pauravh'[12]. Here the descendants of Puru (i.e., the Pauravas) are extolled as being ordained in the sacrifice of (affording) freedom from fear to the distressed.

In this extract we have a close parallel to the expression in the Allahabad Prasasti now being examined. The expression *sattra-diksha* is common to both; in both cases the occasion is that of eulogising the noble qualities of the illustrious character eulogised—that of affording freedom from fear in one case and relieving distress in the other. In the extract from the Abhijnana Sakuntalam the firm adherence of the Pauravas to the noble cause (of affording freedom from fear) is most effectively described with the help of the metaphor of sacrifice.

On the strength of this analogy it is proposed to interpret the phrase *sattra-diksha* as a metaphorical expression. In this way we may have a better understanding of the implication of the expression. Relieving the distress of the poor, infirm and disabled was looked upon as a solemn duty by the righteous kings of ancient India. A great conqueror in the battlefield, Samudragupta was no less keen on discharging his duties in this regard. He took up the task of ameliorating the distress of the people with the devotion and ardour of one solemnly initiated in a great sacrifice. His description as 'anukampavan' and 'mriduhridaya' is thus amply substantiated. *Sattra* primarily denotes a vedic sacrifice of long duration. With reference to Samudragupta it may appropriately suggest his lifelong endeavour for the cause of the distressed while *diksha* emphasises the ardour of his devotion to the noble cause.

It is proposed, hence, to translate the expression Divekar's reading (or an emendation to that effect) of which is supported as 'whose mind was engaged on being initiated in the sacrifice of relieving the distress of the miserable, the poor, the helpless (orphan) and the afflicted.....'

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[1] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III, p. 8.
[2] Select Inscriptions, p. 259.
[3] CII, III. p. 14.
[4] *ABORI*, Vol. VII (1926), p. 165.
[5] Select Inscriptions, p. 259.
[6] *ABORI*, Vol. VIII, p. 165.
[7] *JASB*, Vol. XXIII (1957), p. 79.
[8] CII, III, Plate I.
[9] *Op. cit.*
[10] *ABORI*, VII, p.
[11] *JASB*, Vol. XXX (1957), p. 79.
[12] Act II, Vol. 16.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF RAMAGUPTA

K. D. BAJPAI

The historicity of Ramagupta of the Gupta dynasty has been, for some time past, a problem for discussion. Various views have been expressed by scholars about this mysterious ruler. The references to Ramagupta, both literary and archaeological, are too well known to be enumerated here. All these evidence, culled together, tend to prove that Chandragupta II Vikramaditya had an elder brother, named Ramagupta, who proved to be cowardly and yielded to the most humiliating demand of a Saka king who demanded the hand of

Ramagupta's beautiful wife, Dhurvadevi. This ultimately led to the assassination of the Saka king as well as of Ramagupta at the hands of Chandragupta II.

Recently some round copper coins, bearing the name of Ramagupta, have been discovered in eastern Malwa. They bear the figure of a lion (usually with the upraised tail) on the obverse and the name of Ramagupta on the reverse. During my recent explorations in Eran (Dist. Sagar) and in the Vidisa district I found quite a good number of the coins of Ramagupta. These include not only the lion-type coins but also coins of a new type, bearing the figure of *garuda* in place of lion. It is quite well known that *garuda* was the emblem of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The Gupta rulers were devout Vaisnavas and it was therefore, in the fitness of things that they adopted this emblem on their coins, seals, etc. This has been attested to by the actual find of these remains, which represent the bird prominently in various forms. The excavations at Eran recently conducted by the University of Saugar have also brought to light coins of both the lion and *garuda* types.

These two types exhibit a number of varieties in so far as the fabric, size and weight of the coins are concerned. This indicates that different mould and dies were utililized for preparing them. The paleography of the coin legends is typically early Gupta. The letter *ma* occurs in both the circular and triangular forms, more often in the latter form. Sometimes the letters are found written in an ornamental style. On the basis of the paleography the coins may undoubtedly be assigned to the fourth century A.D.

These copper coins of Ramagupta are akin to the coins of the Nagas and those of the local Malava rulers, who issued them prior to the occupation of the Malava region by the Guptas. The coins of Ramagupta do not seem to be issues of any local officer of the Imperial Guptas, nor of any feudatory king named Ramagupta. From literary and other evidences, so far available, we do not know of any other Ramagupta in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., except the elder brother of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. I, therefore, am inclined to feel that the coins in question were issued by Ramagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II. It is well-known that the latter issued his silver currency for the Malava Gujarata region, similar to the coins of the Western Ksatrapas, after uprooting them from that area. Local traditions have played considerable role in Indian history and the field of numismatics is no exception. It was but natural that Ramagupta's coins were issued in eastern Malwa in close imitation of the fabric and type of the coins current in that area. Like the Naga and other local Malava coins, which are also usually round, the bust of the king Ramagupta does not appear on his coins. We have only the figure of lion or *garuda* within the border of dots on one side and the name of the king in Brahmi characters on the other. In the case of several

Malava coins we have lion[1] or the humped bull[2] on the obverse. In some cases, the obverse has a slender necked vase[3], the exact copy of which is found on some copper coins of Chandragupta II[4], whose copper currency was also in circulation in Malwa.

The king's portrait is conspicuous by its absence in the Malava[5] and Naga coins and so also in the coins of Ramagupta. We know that on some copper coins of Chandragupta II also the king's portrait does not appear. This was obviously due to the tiny nature of these coins. The stately figure of lion with upraised tail in the lion-type coins of Ramagupta can well be compared with similar figure of the animal in the case of Malava[6] and Naga coins[7]. The style of the Brahmani legend and the paleography also bear similar traits[8]. In a copper coin of Ramagupta, recently obtained from Eran, the legend appears as *Sri Ramagupta* on the border, quite similar to that on a large number of Naga coins. The only difference worth mention is that on the reverse of Ramagupta's coin we have *garuda* in place of the bull of the Naga coins. The crescent on Ramagupta's coins can well be compared with that found on some Naga-coins[9].

The only innovation, worth mention, in the case of Ramagupta's coins is the appearance of *garuda*, the characteristic symbol of the Gupta dynasty, which is abundantly found on the gold, silver and copper coins of the rulers of this dynasty. The *garuda*-type coins of Ramagupta, identified for the first time by the present writer, far outnumber the lion-type coins of this ruler. The most striking feature pertaining to this type is that on some coins we clearly find the *garudadhwaja*, as we get on a large number of Gupta gold coins, including those of Samudragupta. On this variety of coins the letter 'ra' appears on the left and 'ma' on the right of the *garudadhwaja*. The reverse bears the figure of garuda, as on other coins of this type.

Looking to the large number of coins of Ramagupta, and particularly of the *garuda* type from Vidisa and Eran, it appears most likely that this Ramagupta was none other than the elder brother of Chandragupta II.

The conquest of the eastern Malava by Samudragupta is clearly attested to by his inscription found at Eran[10]. This inscription shows that this emperor made Eran (Airikina of the inscription) his pleasure-town (svabhoganagara). It appears from this inscription that Samudragupta visited Eran in his old age also, in accompaniment of his wife and several sons and grandsons (Bahuputra-pautra). It may be noted here that besides commanding a panoramic view of the surrounding green land, Eran was located on a strategic point on the border of the eastern Malava (Akara). It lay on the main route joining eastern Malava with the Vatsa kingdom on one hand and via Vidisa with Avanti on the other. Samudragupta, therefore, rightly selected this place for his occasional encampments, which may have developed into a military outpost. A number of battles are known to have been fought at Eran during the Gupta rule. Reference may be made to the Boar-inscription of Toramana the Huna Chief. and to the Goparaja pillar inscription of the time of Bhanugupta, both found in Eran. Ramagupta may have been appointed at Eran, during the last days of his father, to look after the newly conquered region of eastern Malwa. The unsteady political conditions of the time, as revealed from various sources, may have compelled Ramagupta to stay in Malava, even after the death of his father, when his above mentioned coins may have been issued. We have similar cases of Gupta princes Govindagupta and Ghatotkacagupta, who were at later times appointed to look after Malwa[11].

It may be suggested here that the episode leading to the murder of the 'Saka prince demanding the hand of Ramagupta's wife Dhruvadevi and later of Ramagupta himself by Chandragupta II, took place in Eran or Vidisa. The stone inscriptions of the Saka prince Sridharavarma at Eran and Sanchi and the silver coins of the Western Ksatrapas found in this area tend to confirm this surmise.

A number of points in this connection require fresh consideration. It is argued that no gold coins of Ramagupta are known; nor do we get his name in the royal genealogies of the Gupta dynasty. The problem of Kacha is also there.

Regarding these points it may be observed that the royal gold mint during the beginning of the Gupta supremacy was probably located at Pataliputra alone, and not in any other part of the Kingdom. Ramagupta, in his very brief rule after the death of his father, may not have had an access to Magadha due to the troubled conditions there, as is borne out both by the Allahabad and Eran inscriptions of Samudragupta. It may be surmised that after Samudragupta's death the throne at Pataliputra was usurped by Kacha, probably a younger brother of Samudragupta, who adopted the latter's title of Sarvarajocchetta. Kacha also issued his gold coins with a marked difference that on these the *garudadhwaja* of Samudragupta and Ramagupta was replaced by Chakradhwaja[12].

It may be observed here that this new device of chakradhwaja was not adopted by the succeeding rulers of the Gupta dynasty; nor does the name of Kacha appear in any genealogical list of the Guptas, probably due to his unlawful occupation of the throne. The reason as to why the name of Ramagupta is conspicuous by its absence in the Gupta genealogical lists can well be accounted for, as we know that due to his extreme cowardice he brought blasphemy to the fair name of the dynasty[13]. No successor of his ever came to possess the royal throne.

After killing the Saka King and his despised brother Ramagupta, Chandragupta may have rushed to Pataliputra and with the help of the officers and people of Magadha may have succeeded in ousting Kacha.

Nothing is known about Kacha[14] besides his single type gold coins, which he may have issued during his short reign.

[1] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 172, plate XX, 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73, plate XX, 17-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, plate XX, 15.

[4] J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty,* plate XI, 22, Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire,* plate XVI, 19.

[5] Smith wrongly thinks that the reverse of coin No. 58 illustrated in his Catalogue, (plate XX, 21) bears king's head. It appears to be a peacock with expanded tail covering the whole surface, as found on a similar coin illustrated and described by Smith (No. 62, plate XX, 22). See also Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coinage,* plate XVI, No. 18-19. On these copper coins of Chandragupta II the portrait of the king does not appear.

[6] Smith, *op. cit.*, plate XXI, 3-4.

[7] Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of Naga Kings* (Gwalior, 1957), plate IV, No. 11, 14 etc.

[8] Cf. Smith, XXI, 1-6. On some copper coins of Chandragupta II also the legend is Sri Chandragupta (Altekar, *op. cit.*, plate XVI, 14).

[9] Trivedi, *Op. cit.*, plate III, No. 35-38.

[10] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III, pp. 18 ff.

[11] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12-18 and Vol. XXVI, pp. 115-118. Only one gold coin bearing the name '*ghato*' has so far been discovered. It was probably issued by this Ghatotkachagupta, who may have succeeded his elder brother (?) Govindagupta. Both these were probably sons of Chandragupta Vikramaditya.

[12] Ramagupta cannot be identified with Kacha, as the coin-type of the two are entirely different from each other.

[13] Several references in this connection have already been noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, Altekar and others. An allusion, not so far pointed out, is also probably found in Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniyam* (Ch. XVII, 4) to Dhruvadevi and her protector Chandragupta (in the form of Arjuna).

[14] In the *Manjusrimulakalpa* there is an allusion to a younger brother of Samudragupta. The same can be gleaned from the two inscriptions of the latter from Allahabad and Eran.

THE DATE OF VARAHAMIHIRA

[*Summary*]

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The debt that the students of Indian astronomy and astrology owe to Varahamihira cannot be adequately expressed. He was the only one among Indian astronomers to look at older literature from a historical, rather than critical, angle of vision. His works, particularly the *Brihatsamhita*, furnish us with very valuable information on many a topic relating to cultural history also. But as in the case of many other celebrated Sanskrit writers, we know very little about his life and age. The data bearing on his date are fragmentary in the extreme and consequently scholars have been led to widely divergent conclusions. In the present paper it is proposed to examine the external and internal evidence with

a view to arriving at a satisfactory hypothesis. In doing so the views so far expressed by scholars have also been taken into account.

The *Jyotirvid-abharana* by a pseudo-Kalidasa seeks to make Varahamihira a gem of the court of the traditional Vikramaditya who extirpated the Sakas and founded an era in B.C. 57. But it is a very late work and the statements recorded in it are not trustworthy as is shown by its internal evidence. S. K. Dikshit thinks that the *Jyotirvid-abharana* was composed in A.D. 428-29 but his view involves such unfounded suppositions as the equation of Kali 3045, the epoch of the Vikrama era, with A.D. 105, the beginning of his so-called Vikrama-Sahasanka era started by Chandragupta II Vikramaditya. The fact that even the author of the *Jyotirvid-abharana* himself admits an interval of 135 years between the Vikrama and Saka eras shows that he understands by Vikramabda the era of B.C. 57 and not that of A.D. 405. Varahamihira himself mentions Saka 427 (A.D. 505) in his *Panchasiddhantika*. Some identify Sakakala with the so-called Cyrus era of B.C. 550 and others with the Buddhasaka of B.C. 540 or 543. These hypotheses are obviously absurd. The adoption of Saka 427 as the astronomical epoch of the *Panchasiddhantika* is taken by Thibaut and Bhau Daji to refer to the date of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhanta* or a commentary thereon or an adaptation thereof. Kern regards it as the date of Varahamihira's birth. It is shown in the paper that it is really the date of his *Panchasiddhantika*. The cultural evidence from the *Brhatsamhita* is for the first time discussed to show that Varahamihira flourished in the last quarter of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century A.D.

HARSHA'S RELIGION

[*Summary*]

H. V. S. MURTHY

On the strength of Yuwan Chwang's testimony, it has been generally held by historians that Harsha was at first a devotee of Siva, but became a staunch follower of Mahayana form of Buddhism in the later decade of his reign. An attempt has been made here to show that he was not a follower of Mahayana form of Buddhism but actually followed Bhagavata religion in which the worship of God was conducted according to the teachings of Krishna, handed down orally. Although confined to a small region in the time of Panini, Bhagavata religion gradually captured the imagination of the multitudes and became a popular religion during the period of the Imperial Guptas. That it received royal recognition may be seen from the title '*Parama Bhagavata*' assumed by the Gupta monarchs. It stood as a bulwark against the influence of Buddhism and was ultimately responsible in absorbing Buddhism into its wide fold, without leaving any trace of its separate existence. Still later, a place was found for Buddha among the ten principal incarnations of Vishnu.

It is further shown that Harsha's religious assemblies were not intended to promote the cause of Buddhism. For that matter they were convened to demonstrate before the people at large that Vishnu Himself came to earth in the manifestation of Buddha to make way for the righteousness to reign supreme. According to this view, Harsha was a Vaishnava who worshipped Vishnu in His incarnation as Buddha.

THE DAHIAS OF RAJASTHAN

[*Summary*]

JAI NARAYAN ASOPA

The Dahias and Dahimas believe themselves to be the scions of Maharshi Dadhichi of the Yajurvedic age. The Dahae and Dahans have been referred to by Curtius as a people supporting Alexander against Porus. The Dadhya Brahmanas are mentioned as devotees of Dadhimati in an inscription of 609 A.D. Al-Biladuri describes Junaid's attack on Dahnaj c. 724 to 738 A.D. Chachcha in his inscription of 999 A.D. has claimed the origin of his Dadhichika family from Dadhichi. Pandit Ram Karna is of the view that all these words including Dadhichi are derived from Dadhimati and the word Dahia is derivable from both Dadhichi as well as Dadhimati, hence they are scions of Dadhichi and devotees of Dadhimati. Though the tradition is old, in historical and literary records it does not go beyond 999 A.D., so it would be safer to believe on other analogies that they were named after Dadhimati Ksetra.

After Alexander's exit in 325 B.C. the curtain rises again when Dadhya Brahmanas are found protected by Dhruhlana, perhaps of their own community, in the Dadhimati Mata inscription of 609 A.D. Then they were uprooted by Junaid's attack on Dahnaj in c. 724 to 738 A.D. Dadhichika Chachcha in 999 A.D. is mentioned as a feudatory of Durlabharaj Chauhan of Sakambhari. His scions continued in possession of Maroth Parbatsar territory under different vicissitudes up to the time of Nesi i.e., 1665 A.D. A Dahima chief Kaimas was the chief minister of Prithvi Raja Chauhan. In Jalore the Dahias were the chiefs of Paramaras up to 1181 A.D. and after that of the Chauhans. The Dahias served the Chauhans of Ranathambhore even when they had accepted the sovereignty of Shamsuddin. Some of them also accepted widow marriage and formed a sub-community of their own. Their last jagir was Kaira in Sirohi state. To begin with they were a people like Malavas, then organised themselves in a monarchy under Dhruhlana and continued as feudatories under different rulers up to the integration of Rajasthan in 1948-1950.

GIRWAR STONE-INSCRIPTION OF V.1181

DASHARATHA SHARMA

The Patnarayan temple of Girwar, a village in the old Sirohi state, 4 miles to the east of Madhusudan, has three stone-inscriptions. Of these the inscription of V. 1343 and 1344 recording the rebuilding of the temple by Delhana, a minister of the Paramara ruler Pratapasimha, was edited many years ago by Sri Bisheshwar Nath Shastri in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV. But the other two inscriptions have remained unedited so far, most probably because they mention no political facts. The earlier one of these is undated and in an imperfect state of preservation. The other one, perfectly preserved and incised on the same slab, was noticed by G. H. Ojha in his *History of Sirohi* and by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *PRAS*. w.c., 1906-7, p. 27. We edit it here with the help of an excellent estampage supplied by Sri N. R. Khadgawat, Director of Archives, Rajasthan State.

The inscription is dated Wednesday, the 12th day of the dark half of Jyestha, V. 1181 which would correspond to some day in May, 1124 A.D. It begins with the formula "*Om namo Narayanaya*" and the prayer that the rays of light emanating from the nails of Visnu's feet may purify the universe. The second verse invokes the protection of Murari's feet. Patta-Narayana had, we are told in verse 3, that effulgence before which the other shedders of light, the Sun, the Moon, lightning and fire paled, their light being a mere reflection of Patta-Narayana's light. Verse 4 relates how Vasishtha put the Mount Nandivardhana in the frightful hole (in the earth) left by Uttanka and gave the name Arbuda to the hill. Verse 5 tells us that Satyatma had the statue of the god repaired with the consent of the Grivida Brahmanas. Verse 6 records the donation of a field, Patiksetra, and a *pattika*, known as Rudravati, by the local assembly (Grivida-*sthana*). Verse 7 speaks of the grant of 4 *setikas* of *dhanya* (rice) per plough in the rainy season, and of 8 *setikas* of *java* (barley) from every *araghatta*. Other donations are described in the prose portion following verse 7. These include the grant of a *chaukadi-vimjana* to the god, along with 4 *setikas* of barley from a well called ati-kuvaka. For every *ekadasi* day the people of Grivida gave to the *masopavasakas* (carrying on probably their fast in the temple) 2 *drammas* for garments, 20 *palas* of yarn for *pavitraka*, 2 *karsas* of oil for smearing, and *naivedya* or offering of eatables for the god.

The language used is Sanskrit, with a fair admixture of *desi* words in the prose portion. The composer is a good poet, with full mastery over ideas as well as language, as shown by the ease with which he handles difficult metres like the *Sardulavikridita*, *Mandakranta* and *Vasantatilaka*. *Anustubh* is mainly relegated to the unpoetic portion recording grants. He is well-read, and in his third verse we can hear the echo of the Upanisadic saying that "nothing shines there, neither the Sun, the Moon and the stars, nor these shafts of lightning, what to speak of Fire. It is from His light that their light is derived. It is His light which illumines everything."

As regards orthography, a consonant following *r* is mostly doubled, e.g., *punarvvidhi, svarvvahini* Chandrakkau; *v* takes the place of *b*: *anusvara* is used where one normally expects a nasal consonant, and the record has mostly ordinary *matras,* though *prsthamatras* have also been used now and then. Grivida has once been written as Grvida.

Lexicographically we may notice the use of the words *seti, araghatta, kuvaka, chaukadi-vimjana, nechaka, masopavasika, dram, pavitraka, pala,* and *karsa. Araghatta* is a "well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water." *Kuvaka* is simply a well. *Dram* stands for *dramma. Nechaka* might be a garland of flowers offered for the god's worship. The word *masopavasika* is interesting. Should we conclude from its occurrence in the record that the temple had made some provision for people who fasted for full one month, from one *ekadasi* to the other of the same *paksa* in the next month? *Seti, pala* and *karsa* are measures. According to the *Ganitasara* of Thakkura Pheru, 64 handfuls equalled one *sei,* which looks like the *Apabhramsa* form of *seti* or *setika.* A *karsa* should, if we follow the lead of the *Sarngadharasamhita,* equal the modern *tola* of 96 *rattis.* 4 *karsas* equalled a *pala.* The term *pavitraka* might have been used for *yajnopavita,* the sacred thread worn by the high-caste Hindus. I am unable to explain satisfactorily the term *chaukadika-vimjana* which is said to have been *gotrayatta* (under the control of the entire *gotra*) before it was made over to the god. Vimjaṇa means a fan in modern Rajasthani.

Grivida is Girwar, the find-spot of the present inscription. Nandivardhana is believed to have been the actual name of the hill, which was given the name of the serpent Arbuda, because the hill did not by itself succeed in the mission of filling the gaping cavity left by the sage Uttanka, and Vasistha had to ask the serpent Arbuda to assist it. The assistance was rendered on the condition that in future the hill would be known not as Nandivardhana but as Arbuda or Abu. Further details of the story can be had from the *Skanda Purana.*

Nothing is known about Satyatman who carried out the restoration of the image of Patta-Narayana in V. 1181. He may not have been a member of the ruling Ksatriya family or even the Ksatriya caste. The omission of the name of the ruling chief is also significant in an epigraph of this length. The ruler of Abu at the time probably was Kakaladeva whose son Vikramasimha was on the throne of Abu in V. 1201. It might be that till then there were people in the kingdom who did not fully recognise the claim of Kakaladeva to the throne, as his father had become the ruler of Abu by deposing the rightful claimant Yogaraja.

The script used in the record is Nagari. Sanskrit is almost flawless and the mistakes found in it should be ascribed rather to the scribe than to its erudite author.

Text

1. Om namo Narayanaya/Visnoranusna-kara-kanti-vidamv(b)i-bhasah padamguli-nakha-mayukha-sikhah punamtu/visvam punavvi(rvvi) dhikamanda-
2. lu-keli-lola-svarvvahini-gamana-vibhramamavahamtyah//1[1] Payat Puramdara-sahasra-kirita-ratna-chhaya[2]-
3. samuchchhalita-kanti padam Murareh/tadvo yadarghamaya-pathasi lokanathah prepsamti daiva-krta-durli-
4. pi-lepa-luptim(m)//2[3] Yad-vacham manasam dhiyam cha na padam yasminna tejasvinau Chandrarkkau nimisamti yatra
5. tadito nirvvamti yatragnayah/etepi pratapamti labdha-mahaso yasya prati-chchhayaya tattejah kathamapyame-
6. ya-vibhavam Sri-Pattanarayane//3[4] Uttamke susire bhime Vasistho Nandivardhanam/kiladrim sthapayamasa
7. bhujamgarvv(bb)uda-samjnaya//4[5] Asmi(mim)lloka-tritaya-mahite deva-devasya Visnor-guhyam tirtham tadidam-abhava-
8. t Patta-purvvo hradoyam/yatroddharam Grivida-padavi-Brahmanan prarthayitva Sri-Satyatma vapusi vidadhe
9. Pattanarayanasya//5[6] Pati-ksetram tatha khyatam Rudravatim cha pattikam/Grvida-sthana-lokoyam dadau de-
10. vaya bhaktitah//6[7] Dhanya-seti-chatuskam tu varsa-kala-halam prati/dattam pratyaraghattam tu yavanam seti-
11. kastakam(m)//7[8] Tathati-kuvakam prati yava-setika 4 tatha Chaukadi-vinjanam gotrayattam devaya dattam/tatha
12. lokena dattani puspanam nechakani pamcha/tatha masopavasia-kanam vastra-nimittam dattam dram 2 pavitraka-he-
13. toh sutra pala 20 naivedyam-abhyamga-taila-karsa-dvayam cha pratyekadasi/etat samastam lokena dattam palaniyam(cha)
14. Samvat 1181 Jyestha vadi 12 v(b)udha-dine jirnnoddharah krtah//

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* We are not, however, sure whether he was not responsible for putting *v* for *b* like some modern *panditas* who believe in the saying, *vabayorabhedah.*

[1] Metre *Vasantatilakas.*

[2] Here a *cha* before *chha* would have been grammatically right but metrically wrong.

[3] Metre *Vasantatilaka.*

[4] Metre *Sardulavikridita.*

[5] Metre *Anustubh.*

[6] Metre *Mandakranta.*

[7] Metre *Anustubh.*

[8] Metre *Anustubh.*

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF PALA RULERS

[*Summary*]

O. P. VERMA

Foundation of the Pala dynasty about the middle of the eighth century A.D. opens a new chapter in the history of Bengal. Election of Gopala by the people of Bengal to put order into chaos was the first laudable attempt in the direction of the integration of the Pala dominion under one central authority. There were seventeen rulers of this dynasty which ruled over Bengal till the middle of twelfth century A.D. These Pala rulers entered into matrimonial alliances with the contemporary dynasties. More often than not these alliances brought fortune to the Palas.

Gopala, the first of the Palas, married Deddadevi who belonged to a Bhadra family. The union of the Bhadras and Palas proved beneficial to Dharmapala. Dharmapala married Rannadevi daughter of Rashtrakuta Parabala. The Pala-Rashtrakuta alliance was ominous for Devapala who not only consolidated his empire but also extended it. Vigrahapala I married Lajja, an ornament of the Haihaya family. In all probability, she was the daughter of Kalachuri Kokalla who was a powerful king. Friendly relation, however, did not last long. Rajyapala son of Narayanapala married Bhagyadevi daughter of Tunga to be identified with Rashtrakuta Jagathunga son of Krishna II. This alliance led to a detente between the Pala and the Rashtrakutas. Mahipala's matrimonial alliance is not known through the Pala records. However, Hemachandra records that he was one of the unsuccessful suitors who sought the hands Durlabhadevi, a Gujarat princess. Vigrahapala III married Kalachuri Karna's daughter Yauvanasri. "Vanga trembled in fear of Karna and the Lord of Gauda waited upon him." Yet he gave away his daughter to the Gauda ruler in marriage. This is indeed a tribute to the Pala ruler who must have put the Kalachuri king into some difficult embarrassment. This alliance seems to have put an end to the Chedi ruler's rivalry with the Palas. Vigrahapala III also married Rashtrakuta Mahana's sister. This Mahana or Mathanadeva was the ruler of Anga. Ramapala married Madanadevi and Madanapala, the last of the Palas, married Chitramatika but the antecedents of their wives are not known.

NOTES ON SOME SATAVAHANA COINS

K. Gopalachari

The Satavahana empire is not only the earliest and largest South Indian empire, but also the longest lived. In its heyday it extended from Kathiawad and Malwa in the north to Mysore and Cuddalore Dt. in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west. Its kings boasted of their chargers having drunk the waters of three oceans (*tisamuda-toya-pita-vahana*). Bana refers to a later Satavahana as *trisamudradhipati*. The empire endured in unbroken continuity both in the dynastic line and administrative traditions for 460 years, and even set the pace and model for the smaller dynasties which rose on its ruins. It experienced, however, great vicissitudes. A long period of steady expansion was followed by a stormy one of foreign (Kshatrapa) invasion which plunged the empire into the lowest depths of tribulation (35-90 A.D.). But within half a century it emerged victorious only to meet the end three quarters of a century later.

In keeping with its long duration, impressive vastness and great victories and wide conquests, the dynasty has left behind a plethora of coins of various denominations and types. Pulumayi, the successor of the great Gotamiputra (beginning of the second century A.D.) issued 1/16, 3/8, 4/8, 5/8, 6/8, 7/8 and one Karshapanas. In the reign of his successor, Siri Yana, besides these denominations, 9/8 and 14/8 Karshapanas were also issued. We have coins of as many as 13 kings in the main line of 30, in different metals (lead, copper, bronze, potin and silver) in different shapes (square, rectangular, oblong, oval and round) and in different types (elephant type, horse type, lion type, bull type, homo type, Chaitya type, tree within railing). There are also a few silver coins of two kings coming from Kathiawad and Western India. So great were the numbers of the Satavahana coins that their successors such as the Ikshvakus and Kandaras and Brihatphalayanas did not find it necessary to issue coins in their names.

The wide distribution and pleasing variety of the coins of Pulumayi and Yana from Kathiawad and Western India to Cuddalore and Kistna and Godavari Dt., which set the standard for those of their successors should be noted. The large issue of varied coins from time to time would seem to have been necessitated not only by the vastness of the empire and new conquests, but also by the great expansion of trade both internal and foreign. Although comparatively fewer coins have been picked up in Western India than in Central India and the eastern coastal districts, we have it on the testimony of foreign writers such as Strabo and Pliny and the author of *Periplus* that there was active trade between India and the prosperous Hellenistic world in the second and first centuries B.C. Thanks to the preference for the sea route by the Romans and the discovery of the monsoon winds by Hippalus (45 A.D.), trade between the Roman Empire and India increased twenty-fold. The period from Pulumayi to Siri Yana (second and third centuries A.D.) witnessed great commercial intercourse with and colonization of the Far East. Coins bearing the device of ship with masts and the legend *Samisa* and Siri Yana have been picked up not only in Guntur, but also on the Coromandel Coast between Madras and Cuddalore.

I shall in this paper confine myself to the coins of Rana Siri-Sadavahana, Kosikiputa Satakani and a few coins of the Akola hoard.

The most interesting are the five coins of Siri Sadavaha (Siri Satavahana). Two of these are in the collection of Shri S. A. Joglekar of Poona and were bought by him in Aurangabad. They are square pieces of cast copper. On the obverse is an elephant with upraised trunk and the well preserved legend Siri Sadavaha. The third is a square copper coin which Mr. Kaus obtained from coin dealers in Hyderabad State. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant facing right with upraised trunk with the legends Rainno Siri Sadavaha. On the reverse are a Swastika and the inscription open to the left and with straight upper and lower limbs. *Ha* is less rounded than that in the inscription ; only *va* and *ha* are of the same type. It would therefore seem that the striker of these coins was later than the third, but earlier than the eighth king, Apilaka. The angular *pa* and *la* of the Apilaka coin make it to be much later than the Naneghat record. It may be that Kumara Satavahana succeeded Vedisiri who seems to have died during his minority.

Somewhat interesting are 2 coins of Rana Kosikiputa Sa(takani) both from Mr. Kaus's collection. Their provenance is not known, although they were bought from coin collectors in Hyderabad State. One of them is a potin round coin with the Ujjain symbol on the reverse and an elephant facing left with trunk upraised and legend *Kosiki* on the obverse. The second is a lead coin, round in shape. It has the Ujjain symbol on the reverse and a large Swastika and probably *Rano Siri Ko.* V. V. Mirashi restores the legend as *Rano Siri Kosikiputa Satakani.* Even if this be allowed, as also the thesis that its characters are of the later Satavahana type, it is difficult because of the peculiar matronymic which is not found among the members of the main Satavahana line, to ascribe it to one of the later Satavahana kings in the main line. We know that Maharathis in Western India bore the matronymic *Kosikiputa* as also persons from Malwa. Satakani is also borne by feudatories and successors of the Satavahanas. The Kosikiputa of the coins may therefore be one of the local Satakanis emerging on the ruins of the Satavahana empire.

Professor V. V. Mirashi thinks that the Akola hoard throws welcome light on the origins of the Satavahana power in Malwa (Vidarbha). On the other hand, it is on the fall of the Satavahana empire that it throws a flood of light. The hoard makes it certain that Pulumayi, IV, the last in the Puranic List, was actually last of the main line of Satavahanas. His coins in the Akola hoard (4) and the inscriptions dated in his 8th regnal year found in the Adoni Taluq of the Bellary District make it clear that he ruled over at least a major part of what was once the mighty Satavahana empire. The famous Symbol found on almost all Satavahana coins commemorates, according to Rapson, their conquest of Malwa. The fourth coin, also from Mr. Kaus's collection, is a rectangular potin coin with the Ujjain symbol, and Rano *S(i)ri Sadavaha* on the obverse and an elephant facing left on the reverse. The fifth one picked up from Kondapur in the Medak District of Hyderabad State, has on the obverse an elephant facing left with the trunk hanging as on the coin of Apilaka (No. 8 in the Puranic List) and the legend *Siri Sadavaka* and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The provenance of the first four coins would also seem to be Central Deccan and all the 5 coins were undoubtedly issued by the same king. Although there are only 5 coins, their variety in metal, shape and types attests to a large issue by the king. Another noteworthy feature is that on all the coins only *Sadavaha* which is a contraction for *Sadavahana* (*Satavahana*) is used. Sadavaha (Satavahana) is a dynastic name, just as Satakani is a surname. But as used in these coins it is a personal name. Although this is the first time it is met with as a personal name on coins, the Naneghat inscriptions mention a Kumara Satavahana as one of the sons of Siri Satakani I (3rd King in the Puranic List).

Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi ascribes these coins to the founder of the dynasty *Raya Simuka Satavahana.* His argument is that the legends resemble closely the letters in the Naneghat inscriptions. But the Naneghat inscriptions were incised under the orders of the widow of the third king (Siri Satakani I) and during the minority of her son Vedi Siri. Simuka reigned for 23 years, Kanha his brother 18 years and Siri Satakani I 10 years. At least 3 decades separate the Naneghat record from *Raya Simuka* the founder. Moreover, while on the coins *Sadavaha* is used as a personal name, in the Naneghat inscription Satavahana is used as the dynastic name of Simuka.

Paleographically, the coin would seem to be later than the Naneghat inscription but earlier than the Apilaka coin. *Na* on the coin is more ornate and developed than that in the Naneghat record and also *Sa* on the coin is more artistic than that in the inscription. *Da* on the coin open to the right is certainly later than *Da* in the empire. The hoard contains besides coins of Kumbha Satakani, Kana Satakani and Ruda Satakani who are not mentioned in the Puranic Lists. And as the cursive legends on their coins show that they are later ones, it would be safe to conclude that they were kings of the Vidarbha line of the Satavahanas who succeeded the main line in its northern provinces roughly corresponding to the southern part of modern Madhya Pradesh. As

Ruda Satakani, whose coins have been found in Chanda hoard and Andhradesa, would seem to have ruled over both parts, it is better to consider him as preceding Kana and Kumbha Satakanis. And the long vertical and reascent of letters on the Kumbha coins places its striker below Kana and the large number of Kumbha coins (56), as against seven of Kana, would seem to indicate a comparatively longer reign for the former.

VISHTI (FORCED LABOUR) IN ANCIENT INDIA

[*Summary*]

RÁDHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

A study of the ancient Indian texts and inscriptions reveals to us that the institution of vishti or forced labour was fairly common in ancient India. Vishti was one of the sources of income to the state and the royal officers. Kautilya, Manu, Gautama, Vishnu, Vasishtha, Sukra, Kalhana and Laksmidhara have referred to it in their writings and the term also finds mention in a number of inscriptions. Laksmidhara defines it as labour forcibly recruited. The Arthasastra details a long list of vishti and the Amarakosha groups it with Aju. Vishti has been translated here as both free labour and forced labour. An element of compulsion in extracting manual work without any share in the profit is a clear manifestation of the type of exploitation obtaining in those days. There is an indirect reference to it in the Jatakas and other Buddhist literature. Manu and Sukra prescribe vishti as one of the items of income to the state. It marks the development of a definite stage of feudalism. When its scope was widened, it included all sorts of free labour services and obligations obtaining in a full fledged feudal society. It then came to be known as Sarvavishti. Sometimes vishti and Ditya are simultaneously used. Hiuen-Tsang also refers to the prevalence of forced labour in the society. In an inscription of the sixth century A.D. of western India, it is stated that forced labour should be imposed on a certain section of people. Forced labour was oppressive in nature. The drudgery of the forced labour is evident from various texts. Under such circumstances efficiency in production was bound to be affected. The surplus produced by the feudal corvee labour was enjoyed by the leisured class. That is why the people had lost all interest in the society in which they lived.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA-CHINA MARITIME TRADE

(c. A.D. 250-1200)

ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI

Though the Sung-Shu (chapter 97) [A.D. 420-478] vaguely alludes to maritime trade between India and China as early as the first two decades of the third century A.D., definite information regarding such contact can be had only from the middle of the third century A.D. The *Shui-Ching-Chu* (section 55) on the basis of Fu-Nan-Chuan of Kang Tai states that, "Travelling to the North West (from Chu-li) for more than a year, one reaches the mouth of the river of India, which is called the river Ganges. At the mouth of the river there is a kingdom called Tan-Mei which belongs to India. Its ruler sent letters to the Yellow Gate (the Chinese Court), and was appointed (by China) king of Tan-Mei".

Tan-Mei has been taken by the author of the *Shui-Ching-Chu* as identical with To-Mo-Li-Chien i.e., Tamralipti. Now K'ang Tai came to the court of Fan-Che-Man, king of Fu-Nan some time between A.D. 240 and 245. There he met the ambassador from India. So it is likely that the king of Tamralipti sent an embassy to China some time after A.D. 245. Bengal thus took a definite initiative in fostering India-China maritime relation, which was necessarily of a mercantile character. It must, however, be noted that 'no such embassy is registered in the annals (Pen-Chi) of the Wu in the San-Kuo-Chih'.

On his return journey Fa-Hsien (A.D. 399-414) embarked for Ceylon from Tamralipti. When he set sail for Canton, there were on board the merchantman two hundred Po-Lo-Man, Sanskrit *Brahmana*, (more properly adherents of the Brahmanical religion) from the West Coast of India, or as Legge takes, from Kulam to the mouth of the Indus. It is therefore likely that people from all parts of India participated in this trade when the Gupta emperors established their supremacy over the seas. This is corroborated from what we know of such famous Buddhist monks as Gunavarman (Kiu-Na-Pa-Mo) of Kashmir and Gunabhadra (Kiu-No-Po-To-Lo) of central India. It is interesting to note that the ship which took Gunavarman to China was owned by an Indian named Nandin. Gunabhadra also first came to Ceylon and then reached Canton in A.D. 435.

The decline of the Imperial Guptas in India, depredation of pirates around the Ton-Kin coast and political unrest in China during the 6th century A.D. retarded the growth of this trade. Inspite of these unfavourable human factors the trade did not die away. Thus, a South Indian king is said to have sent an embassy to China between A.D. 500 and 516. The Buddhist savant Paramartha reached China by sea in A.D. 546. But above all Cosmas Indicopleustes (A.D. 535) mentions a lively India-China maritime trade via Ceylon.

It has been assumed by Hirth and Rockhill that Hiuen-tsang was ignorant of the India-Java-China trade. But it may be pointed out that Emperor Harsha suggested to the Master of the Law that royal officers could accompany him should he like to take the southern sea-route i.e., by way of Java and Sumatra. The learned translators of *Chu-fan-Chi* mention that later in the 7th century sea-route came to be almost exclusively used; thus I-tsing (A.D. 671-695) embarked from Kuang-Chu (Canton) for India in a Po-Sse ship. In his biography he mentions no less than 37 Chinese pilgrims who went to India by sea.

Early in the 8th century (A.D. 717) an Indian is said to have reached Canton but whether in a Po-sse ship is not known. Pallava Narasimhavarman II (Che-Li-Ma-Lo-Sen-Kia) sent an embassy to China in A.D. 720. Some months later, the Chinese emperor sent a return embassy. Such diplomatic activity between these two countries presupposes close trade relations. In fact the *Hwi-Chao* mentions Brahmana (West Indians) ship-owners on the river at Canton in A.D. 748.

After the sack of Kwang-Chu (Canton) in A.D. 758 by Ta-Shi (Arab) and Po-Sse merchants Canton was closed to the foreigners, and Tonkin henceforth became terminus for foreign ships. Canton was reopened in A.D. 792. But the Sailendra rulers of Srivijaya henceforth acted as the sole intermediaries between Indian and Chinese merchants. India-China trade came to a violent end in A.D. 878 by rebel Huang-Cha's sack of Canton and indiscriminate murder of foreign merchants.

Direct regular maritime contact was revived at the initiative of the Cholas and Palas. The Cholas sent embassies to China in A.D. 1015, in 1020 and 1033 (*Sung-Shi* and *Ma-Tuan-Lin*) and in 1077 and 1106 (*Chu-Fan-Chi*). These so-called 'embassies' offering tribute to the Chinese Emperors, however, practically were nothing but so many mercantile delegations, which sought the favour of the Emperors for trading facilities. The *P'ing-Chou-K'o-T'an,* (eleventh century A.D.) mentions large Kia-Ling (= Kling-Kayinga) sea-going merchant ships and organization of such merchants. That India-China maritime trade during this period, however, was at a low ebb can be guessed from the rather humiliating status accorded to the Chola envoys in A.D. 1015 and also in A.D. 1106.

How far was this trade the result of Indian enterprise *vis-a-vis* the Perso-Arabs and the Chinese?

I-Tsing first mentions the Po-Sse (= Persian) ships. Hourani has pointed out that it was not possible for the Persians to undertake such adventurous undertaking immediately after their defeat at the hands of the Arabs. Hence the beginnings of Perso-Chinese maritime activity goes back to pre-Islamic days. Even if that be so, it must, however, be accepted that the Indians retained control over the Eastern Oceanic trade till the middle of the 7th century A.D. The earliest Arab narratives concerning the China trade are by Suleiman (A.D. 851) and ibn Wahab. But Suleiman noted that 'the goods of China are rare (in Persia and Mesopotamia)'. From Buzurg's story of 'Abharah, however, it appears that Arab mercantile activities in the China sea began somewhat later. Then in the time of al-Mas'udi Arab enterprises in China proper ceased. Thus the state of Indian initiative during c. A.D. 750-1000 cannot be definitely ascertained. But if any thing can be argued from the unusual efflorescence of Indian culture in Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Champa during the period, it may be stated that at least indirect maritime contact between India and China continued.

The extent of Indian initiative in the years following A.D. 1000 may be known from the activities of such mercantile corporations like the Manigraman Cettis (Takua-Pa Inscription, Malay Peninsula) and Nanadesa-Tisaiyayirattu-Ainnurruvur Loboe Toewa Inscription, Sumatra, A.D. 1088. Indeed, the daring enterprises of such mercantile organisations have been brought to relief by the Baligami inscription (Mysore). Shall we be far wrong to think that such organisations carried on trade directly with China, particularly after Java's secession from Srivijaya and Sung rulers of China offering special privileges to foreign merchants?

The theory that the Indians fared badly in maritime competition with the Arabs has no basis in fact. Hourani has, of late, conclusively shown that the Arabs did not come to develop any speciality on their own in the art of boat-building. On the other hand, he points out that before the days of ibn-Battutah, the Arabs and Persians even used 'to go and build their ships on the spot. The Maldives and Laccadives were the scene of a remarkable ship-building activity . . . .' Indians therefore maintained their supremacy, usually naval and sometimes even political, over the Bay of Bengal till the collapse of the Cholas and decline of Srivijaya in the 13th century A.D.

Beazley holds the view that the Chinese used the mariner's compass in making voyages from Canton to Malabar as early as the first century A.D. But it may be recalled that neither Fa-Hsien nor I-Tsing makes any mention of Chinese navigation to India. The *Tang-Kuo-Shi Pu* by Li-Chan (A.D. 713 to 825) mentions foreign (Fan) traders at Canton. They were registered in the office of the Inspector of Maritime Trade. Hourani has shown that the alleged Chinese participation in the Western trade before Islam does not stand scrutiny. He takes such expression as Sufun min al-Sin of al-Tabari, Sufun Siniyah or Markab Sini to mean Moslem ships on the China run. The Chinese prisoners at the battle of Talas river, however, returned home in Chinese Junks in A.D. 762. Hirth and Rockhill believe that these 'may have been built in China, but it seems highly improbable that they were owned or navigated by the

Chinese'. Their view, however, is somewhat contradictory. Early in 12th century A.D., the Chinese traders frequented India as far as Quilon. (Ling-Wai-Tai-Ta, II.13 of Chou-Ku-Fei). The decline of the Cholas and of Srivijaya undoubtedly helped them but their supremacy over the Bay of Bengal in the following centuries was primarily due to their superior boat-building technique and invention of the mariner's compass.

THE OFFICE OF THE DANDANAYAKA

MISS PRATIPAL BHATIA

The term *dandanayaka* is noticed in numerous records of which some go back to the period of the imperial Guptas,[1] and it occurs also in literature.[2]. We constantly meet with terms like *dandanatha, dandadhinatha, dandadhipa, dandadhipati, dandesa* and *dandesvara,*[3] as the synonyms of *dandanayaka.* The word *danda* means 'fine' and 'rod' of chastisement as well as 'army' or 'forces'. Which of these would give the exact meaning and significance of the title *dandanayaka,* has yet to be determined. It has been variously interpreted by scholars as "trying magistrates" (Prinsep), "the great leader of the forces" (Fleet), "Prefect of Police" (Auriel Stein), "the chief judge or chief officer of Police" (Marshall), "Military officer" (V. V. Mirashi and Altekar) and sometimes it has been left untranslated[4]. As some of these were based on isolated references, the best thing to do is to put together all the material that is available so far and see whether we can reach any conclusions.

The definition of *dandanayaka* is very well given in line 17 of the Balagamve inscription, wherein *dandanayaka*[5] Kavanyya is described as 'Samastha-sen-agresara', i.e., the leader of the whole army[6] of king Samkamadeva. Further, the words *chamupati, chamunatha* and *chamupa,* in which *chamu* means only 'army', are occasionally used as the synonyms of *dandanayaka,* e.g., Kavanyya's son, Brahman is referred to as 'Brahmachamupati" as well as *senadhipati* and *dandanayaka* of king Sovideva.[7] In the Kargudari inscription of Vikramaditya VI and Taila II, the same person i.e., Isvaryya of Kadamba family has been designated as *dandadhinatha, dandadhipa, chamupa, chamupati* etc.[8]. Also in an inscription of the Yadavas of Devagiri, Sri Jogadeva, the younger brother of *dandanayaka* Purushottama, is referred to as the *dandadhisa* as well as *chamupa*[9]. That *dandanayaka* was a military title, is proved also by the description of the holders of such a title. *Dandanayaka* Anantapala is said to have subdued the seven-Malavas in the north in the time of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI.[10] *Dandanatha* Sahadeva is said to have defeated the leaders of the Malavas in the time of Jagadekamalla II[11].

The inscriptional evidence is corroborated by literary evidence, i.e., according to Hemachandra's Abhidhanachintamani, *dandanayaka, chaturangabaladhiyaksha* and *Senani* are synonymous terms.[12] And above all this is the most unambiguous testimony of the *Tilakamanjari* of Dhanapala written at the Paramara court, in which the same officer is referred to as *Vahinipati, dandadhipati, senanayaka, senadhipa, sainyapati, dandanayaka* and *dandapati*.[13] This leaves no doubt in our mind that a *dandanayaka* was primarily a military officer,[14] though at times, as we shall see below, he was called upon to assist in the civil administration as well.

Coming to the duties of the *dandanayaka*, he appears at times to have been an officer of the status of a colonel, stationed in different districts or villages,[15] in charge of local army units to help the local authorities in maintaining law and order.[16] But sometimes a *dandanayaka* was vested with the administration of a province, i.e., after the defeat of Paramara Dhandhuka, the ruler of Arbuda, *dandanayaka* Vimala was appointed as the governor of Arbudamandala by Chaulukya Bhima I[17]. Similarly the *dandanayaka* Madhava was also the *tantrapala* i.e., governor, stationed at Ujjain during the reign of Pratihara ruler Mahendrapala II[18].

It seems that the investment of the civil administration in the hands of a *dandanayaka* was a political exigency and not the general practice, at least in northern India[19]. The practice in the south, however, appears to be different. There almost every *dandanayaka* is referred to as administering a province or a district. (For instance, *dandanayaka* Govindarasa was administering the province of Banavasi in A.D. 1104;[20] *dandanayaka* Mahadevarasa was in charge of the Banavase twelve thousand province, and the Huligere three thousand district;[21] *dandanayaka* Kesavyya was ruling over Belvola—three-hundred and Puligere three-hundred;[22] *dandanayaka* Nakimayya was governing the district called the Taddevadi-thousand in A.D. 1074-5.[23])

Sometimes some very important civil offices of the state like that of an *amatya* or a *mahapradhana* or *mahasandhivigrahika* were combined with those of a *dandanayaka*, i.e., Harisena was a *dandanayaka* as well as a *kumaramatya* and *samdhivigrahika*[24] in the time of Samudragupta. *Dandanayaka* Indradeva was also an *amatya* of king Kumaravaradatta.[25] An inscription from Managoli describes Anmanayya as the *dandanayaka* as well as a *mahapradhana*.[26] *Dandanayaka* Kesavarayya was also a *mahapradhana* during the reign of Taila II.[27] Sometimes a *dandanayaka* was commissioned in the king's household viz., king Vikramaditya VI gave a commission to *dandanayaka* Lakshmana in the household of his daughter.[28]

We also come across titles like *Mahaprachandadandanayaka*[29] and *mahadandanayaka*.[30] The holders of these titles, as the use of the affix *maha* proves, were positively superior to *dandanayakas*. An inscription from Ablur refers to *dandanayaka* Govindarasa as the subordinate of *mahasamantadhipati mahadandanayaka* Anantapala.[31] (According to Altekar *mahaprachandadandanayaka* was the head of the military department in the Yadava territories.)[32] These high military titles were sometimes conferred upon the great feudatory chiefs of the realm, who were also sometimes the recipients of the '*panchamahasabdas*'. For example, Harisena is referred to as the *mahasamantadhipati-mahadandanayaka*;[33] Madhava is referred to as a *tantrapala, mahasamanta, mahadandanayaka*;[34] Kesivayya was the obtainer of *panchamahakasaba*, the *mahasamantadhipati* as well as the *mahadandanayaka* of Vikramaditya VI;[35] Laksmana is described as *samadhigata-pancha-mahasabda-mahasamanta dhitpi* and *mahaprachanda-dandanayaka* of king Vikramaditya VI[36].

The office of the *dandanayaka* commanded prestige and power and kings sometimes gave their daughters in marriage to *mahadandanayakas*.[37] The title of the *dandanayaka* was hereditary many a times[38].

We also come across the term *dandanayakiti*[39] which has been interpreted as 'a female leader of the forces' by some and the 'wife of a *dandanayaka*' by others.[40] But from the context it appears that *dandanayakiti* stands for daughter of a *dandanayaka*[41].

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[1] (i) The Allahabad pillar prasasti of Samudragupta gives to Harisena, the author of the prasasti, the title of *mahadandanayaka*. C.I.I. III, p. 10.

(ii) The term *dandanayaka* also occurs in Deo-Barnavk inscription of Jivitagupta II, *ibid.*, p. 218.

(iii) It is referred to in the Bhita seals. A.S.I. Ann. Rep. 1911-12, p. 52.

[2] Rajatarangini, p. 342, Book VII, 951; *Tilakamanjari* etc.

[3] E. I., V, p. 21, 31, II. 8, 12; *ibid.*, p. 218; I.A. X, p. 252; JBBRAS, XII, p. 20.

[4] For a list of consolidated references, see also P.I.H.C., 1943 (Aligarh Session), p. 90 and 'History of Gurjara-Pratiharas' by B. N. Puri, p. 111 fn. 2.

[5] E. I. VI, p. 92.

[6] I.A. V, p. 46; Mysore inscriptions, p. 117.

[7] E.I. VI, p. 92.

[8] I.A. X, p. 252 ff.

[9] JBBRAS XII, p. 20.

[10] E.I. V, p. 226.

[11] E.I. V, p. 21.

[12] Chaulukyas of Gujarat by A. K. Majumdar, pp. 227, 229.

[13] Tilakmanjari, pp. 66, 73, 74, 75, 78, 237.

[14] In the Gunji Rock inscription of King Kumaravara(-)datta of the 1st century A.D., (E.I. XXVII, p. 52), Buddhadatta is described as *amatya, dandanayaka*, and *baladhikrita*. As *nayaka* means a leader, and an *adhikarta* connotes an officer, we can, in this case too interpret *dandanayaka* as a leader of forces' and *baladhikrita* as 'an officer in charge of the Military Department'. Similarly, the word '*Mahadandanayaka*' can be given its usual sense in the Bangarh grant of Mahipala I of Pala dynasty (E.I. XIV, p. 327), by interpreting 'Mahasenapati' as 'the Minister in charge of the army'.

[15] Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, Part IV, p. 40.

[16] Vakataka-Gupta-Age, p. 287; State and Government in Ancient India, p. 195.

[17] E.I. IX, p. 151.

[18] E.I. XIV, p. 185.

[19] That a newly conquered or half subjugated territory should be in the hands of a military officer, is nothing astonishing, it is the general practice even in modern times.

[20] E.I. V, p. 214.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[22] *Ibid.*, XX, p. 62.

[24] C.I.I. III., p. 10, 16.

[23] I.A. X, p. 127.

[25] Gunji Rock Ins., E.I. XXVII, p. 52 ff.

[26] E.I. V, 25, 1.15.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 238, 1.101.

[28] E.I. XIII, p. 299.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] C.I.I. III, p. 10; E.I. XX, p. 64.

[31] E.I. V, p. 216.

[31] E.I. V, p. 216.

[32] State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 195; I.A. XII, p. 120.

[33] C.I.I. III, p. 10.

[34] E.I. XIV, p. 185.

[35] E.I. XX, p. 64.

[36] E.I. XII, p. 299.

[37] E.I. XX, p. 1, ff.

[38] E.I. VI, p. 92; C.I.I. III, p. 10.

[39] I.A. X, p. 252.

[40] C.I.I. III, p. 263, fn. 7.

[41] See fn. 37.

In the inscription *Malliyakka* is referred to as the daughter of *Dandadhipa Isvaryya* and wife of *Mediraja* who is not given the title of *dandanayaka*. So it seems best in the present context to interpret *dandanayakiti* as the daughter of a *dandanayaka*.

A MEDIAEVAL ACCOUNT OF MECHANICAL DEVICES IN INDIA

KALI KUMAR DUTTA SASTRI

There is scarcely any positive evidence to convince a historian of the fact that the Indians in ancient times made considerable progress in the field of scientific wisdom. Even the records in the ancient Indian literature are not at all encouraging. All that has been done in this field of research appears to be marred by exaggeration, wanton conjecture and bias in some form or other on the part of the investigators. Thus we see that Keith sneers at such eminent a scholar as Brajendranath Seal and remarks on his 'Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus' by saying that the author there reads new ideas in old texts.[1] But we are now in possession of such materials as would make us change our opinion about the scientific knowledge of the people of ancient India. The present article wants to consider the progress made by the people of ancient India in the field of mechanics in the light of a record belonging to ancient India.

The word 'yantra' stands for what we know by the expression 'mechanical devices' in English though Sanskrit lexicons record for us a wide variety of meanings denoted by this term. The history of this word can be traced back to the time of the Rigveda and we have cogent reasons to believe that, at least in some of the passages of that Veda the word 'yantra' has been used to denote some mechanical devices.[2] In the epics[3], in the Harivamsa[4], in some of the Puranas[5], in the Divyavadana[6], in the works of Susruta, Vagbhata[7], in some of the literary works like the Raghuvamsa[8], Meghaduta[9], Kumarasambhava[10], Manu-samhita[11], Raja-tarangini[12], Kadambari[13], Kathasaritsagara[14] and many such works. We come across various kinds of mechanical devices which cannot be discarded by the sweeping remark that they are all fictitious. In the Mahabharata we have also a reference to a hand-book of mechanism written in aphoristic style. The Arthasastra of Kautilya mentions two varieties of yantras—static and dynamic ('sthita' and 'cala').[a] It describes a kind of automatic door-leaves known as 'visvasa-ghatin' which is designed to sink as soon as an enemy places his full weight on them in order to storm a fortress.[15] It also speaks of a mechanical device with the help of which machine water can be thrown with such high pressure that it would compel the adversary to take to his heels[16]. Concerning the technonomy of such yantras Bhattasvamin, the author of the commentary Pratipada-pancika on the Arthasastra tells us that, pressure, rotation and weight—these are the three means by tactful employment of which the automatic devices can be set to work[17]. In the Siddhanta-siromani we have some accounts which speak of the utilisation by such ancient masters as Aryabhata, Lallacarya, Brahmagupta and others of such mechanical devices as the armillary sphere, Clepsydra, Gnomon and even of a globe revolving automatically according to the plan by the skilful employment of Mercury and water[18].

From all these and similar other references it may be contended that there are ample reasons to believe that the people of ancient India were able to produce not only a number of Chemical apparatus, Surgical instruments, Astronomical appliances, Illusory devices and Labour-saving machines, but even some robots and aeronautic machines were also devised by them, of course, in their crude forms. It should, however, be admitted that their attempts concerning the last two items could not be much successful and the failure is due mainly to the fact that they were not able to find out some such source of driving power as Electricity, Steam, Spirit and Petrol which the modern inventors are blessed with. In the absence of these, they appear to have made their attempts with the utilisation of Air, Water and Fire for generating the driving power for their machines. It should, however, be noted in this connection that the know-how of these machines was a closely guarded secret confirmed to a microscopic number of men and this monopolistic tendency backed by various other contributing factors affected adversely the progress of this branch of science. The inventor seems always to have tried his best to keep the knowledge confined to himself alone and very rarely he was induced to put down his method in black and white and even if he chose to record it, he put it in such a cryptic way as to be not intelligible to one who does not belong to a particular school of thought current in those days. So, it is obvious that this kind of secrecy has not only checked the progress of this branch of science but it has also sounded its death-knell.

Fortunately, however, the Samarangana-sutradhara[19] ascribed to Bhoja has retained for us a brief account of the technology and technonomy of some of the mechanical devices in the 31st chapter of the book which is known as 'yantradhyaya' and it throws some light on this forgotten chapter of the history of India's achievements in the field of applied science. In this treatise we have not only a graphic account of some curious machines contrived by the ancient inventors but the author of this book has also dealt with the technology as well as the technonomy of these machines. It is interesting to note here that the machines and the process of their working described in this treatise cannot be found in any other 'Silpa' works handed down to us. In this respect this work is of unique importance to the students of history. 'Yantra' according to the conception of this work is the device by means of which man can control the forces of nature with a view to utilise them for achieving his own ends at his sweet will[20] or regulate them by dint of his own talents and create new forms of utilities out of them.[21] It is really gratifying to note that even in these days of scientific progress we could have no better conception of the mechanical devices than the one recorded in this ancient treatise.

According to this book 'ksiti' or the solid materials, 'apah' or water, 'agnih' or 'analah', i.e., fire, and 'vayuh' or air—these are the four conventionally known sources of driving power technically known as 'bija' and to this list the author of this work adds a fifth one named 'viyat' which is equivalent to the void or vacuum in the terminology of modern science[22]. From the standpoint of manipulation yantras are classified in this work under four different heads. Of these, the devices belonging to the first category may be termed as what is known as automatic machines in our days. Those belonging to the second category are said to be of use for once only while those of the third category are designed to be manipulated with the help or under the cover of something intermediary. The fourth category consists of the machines which are meant for being manipulated from a distance[23]. This book reveals a very clear conception about what is known as 'momentum' in modern mechanics and discusses about different kinds of speed and motion and also their utilisation for various mechanical purposes[24]. The author of this work seems to have an intimate knowledge of the secrets of the 'lever system'[25] as well as the proper utilisation of mechanical revetting[26].

From the accounts given in this treatise it appears that this particular branch of applied science was current even in the days of hoary past and the scholars versed in this branch of knowledge were proficient not only in both the theoretical and practical aspects of this science but serious attempts were also made to improve the science in all its aspects.[27] It has also been stated there that the machines referred to and described in that work are all taken from real things already existing and seen by the author in his own eyes (drstani).[28] This testimony, however, cannot be discarded lightly as we have no cogent grounds to dub the ancient royal author of the work as a brazen-faced liar simply because any concrete specimen of such machine has not yet reached our hands. The author there also claims that he was able to invent himself some curious mechanical devices and fondly hopes that still more curious ones will be invented by other talented students of that science in course of time.[29] He also frankly admits that he laid down the fundamental principles and processes in a very cryptic way and that was not due to his ignorance but only for maintaining secrecy which was at his time the order of the day.[30] The author there was unwilling to divulge the secret of those machines lest it would be against the interest of the inventors. He, however, cryptically hints at the secrets in such a manner as they would be helpful to the talented technicians to get hold of the fundamental principles guiding the production of those machines.[31] Rightly the author there remarks that no amount of bookish knowledge can make a technician proficient in his art. For acquiring technical skill one must have to work under the guidance of competent teachers and qualify oneself in both the theoretical and the practical aspects of the science concerned.[32] The technician worth his salt must be a man endowed with the faculty of imagination. In this treatise we have a long list of curious machines along with the secrets of their construction, manipulation and description. To name a few :—(i) The 'svanodgari yantra' which automatically creates different kinds of sound. (ii) Moving dolls with life-like movement of limbs by means of skilful manipulation of rivets and levers. (iii) 'Vari yantras' contrived by the utilisation of pipe-lines, pressure and syphonic devices. There are also shower baths, rotating springs, whirlpools, artificial rain and similar other contrivances which evince the proficiency of the author in Hydraulics and Hydrodynamics. (iv) The 'dvarapala yantra' is a kind of robot porter capable not only of obstructing the passage of unwanted visitors but also of killing them in case of necessity. (v) The 'yodha yantra' is a sort of robot warrior whose services may be utilised as a worthy substitute for a combatant. These are undoubtedly some crude semblances of the device of their modern counterparts but still they are there. (vi) The 'maha-vihanga' and 'daru-vimana' are the devices which enabled the Indian Icarus of that age to take his flight in the air not with the help of artificial wings like his European counterpart but with the help of a bird-like machine or a Zeppelin-like device driven by a queer contrivance called 'rasa-yantra'.

It is, however, very difficult for us to determine what exactly the 'rasa' was.[33] It appears from the description of the devices that they were far superior to the balloons as they contained propellers. This mediaeval engineer seems to have given his thought to both the problems, floating the car in the air against the forces of gravitation and moving the car in the desired directions against the forces of the wind, and it is interesting to note that these very problems baffled the attempts of the aeronautical aspirants belonging to Europe even in the 18th century. We need not multiply instances. We cannot deny now that such things were there at least in theory but how far they made their progress in practice is a thing which requires serious investigation. It will be tantamount to denying truth if we, assuming an air of omniscient pedantry, discard such ancient evidences as so many pieces of fantastic fiction. A true historian should not discard anything against which there is no positive evidences sufficiently convincing even to a sceptic.

[1] History of Sanskrit Literature, A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1920, p. 408 fn.

[2] RV., I.49.1; VI.44.24 etc.

[3] MB., I.1123, V.5184, VII.3332 etc.; Ram., II.84.8, IV.10.31, V.64.24 etc.

[4] HV., 5008.

[5] Mark, P. xiv.17; Matsya, P. 151; Bhagavata, P. vi.12.10; Gita, XVIII.61.

[6] 380.15.

[7] Susruta, I.23.12 and elsewhere; Vagbhata, XX.1 etc.

[8] XVI.49.

[9] I.62.

[10] VI.41.

[11] XI.66.

[12] I.365; IV.160; VII.340 etc.

[13] Purvardha.

[14] 29.4.18 ; 43.33 etc.

[15] Arthasastra, Adhyaksa-pracara, II.18. Ed. TSS, No. 79, pp. 251-2. This is what is described as 'kapata-yantra' in the Mahabharata. *vide*—Dhanurveda. Yogesh Chandra Roy, Haraprasad samvardhana Lekhamala, Vol. I, p. 141.

[16] *Loc. cit.*

[17] Arthasastra, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[18] Siddhanta-siromani, Yantradhyaya.

[19] Ed. in 2 Vols. by T. G. Sastri, GOS., Nos. xxv & xxxii, Baroda 1924-25.

[20] *Op. cit.*, XXXI.3.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, 4.

[22] *Loc. cit.*, 5.

[23] *Op. cit.*, 10.

[24] *Loc. cit.*, 13-14.

[25] *Ibid.*, 31.47.

[26] *Loc. cit.*, 102-3.

[27] *Loc. cit.*, 84.

[28] *Loc. cit.*, 82.

[29] *Loc. cit.*, 82, 84, 86-7.

[30] "Yantranam ghatana nokta gupty artham nanjnatavasat", *Ibid.*, 79.

[31] *Loc. cit.*, 80-82.

[32] *Loc. cit.*, 83, 87.

[33] *Loc. cit.*, 89-130.

ROYAL LIFE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

(As depicted mainly in the Manasollasa)

[*Summary*]

OM PRAKASH

The Chalukya kings lived in splendid palaces and changed their residences according to the seasons of the year. King's bath occupied an important place in his daily routine. Royal garments were prepared from cloth of various colours brought from distant places like Kalinga, Vanga, Ceylon and China. The kings used different kinds of seats on different occasions. Swinging beds and bags filled with water were used as beds in summer during the day. Besides many vegetarian preparations of rice, fram, pulse, wheat, flour and *masla* flour, the king's menu consisted of a number of dainty meat dishes. These rulers were polygamous and had the most beautiful and accomplished women of all castes in their harems.

The members of the royal family amused themselves by witnessing many kinds of shows such as wrestling matches, duels of armed men, horse-races, fights of elephans, cocks, quails, pigeons, rams and buffaloes. Royal pastimes also included angling, hunting, gambling, playing chess, listening to sweet music and interesting stories, cutting jokes with their friends and enjoying the company of their queens. One of the most popular amusements was, however, the game of Indian Polo which was played by two teams consisting of eight members each.

The royal Darbar was a grand affair. It was attended by queens, beautiful ladies from the neighbouring states, royal princes, the *Purohita*, ministers, governors of provinces, nobles, poets, astrologers, and acrobats. Many rulers who came to take refuge with these rulers were also present in the Darbar. The kings showed due honour to these rulers and bestowed awards on all present as befitted them.

SOME LIGHT ON FEUDAL ELEMENTS IN INDIAN POLITY

(700-1000 A.D.)

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Feudal elements in Indian polity go back to the Mauryan period, if not earlier. Its *dandopanata samantas* undertook the building of forts and other defensive works, acquisition of things, celebration of marriages, installation of their heir-apparent, trade in horses, capture of elephants, construction of covert places for battle, march against an enemy and holding of sports only with the permission of the overlord. They helped him as much as they could. On all occasions of worshipping gods and offering prayers, they caused their people to pray for the long life of the overlord, and always proclaimed their readiness to put themselves at his disposal. Their territory too, apparently, was regarded as the overlord's for if the *samanta* governed a territory the people of which were wicked or inimical to him, he could request the overlord to give another *janapada* to him.[1] Under the Guptas, hundreds of *rajas* attended the royal court;[2] paying taxes, obeying royal orders, performing obeisance in person to the emperor were their bounden duties.[3] And one cannot help thinking of the relations between Akbar and the Rajputs when one finds Samudragupta requiring even semi-independent people like the Kushanas and Sakas to attend on him, to give him their daughters in marriage, and to rule over their territories under the Gupta charters bearing the Garuda seal.[4] This feudal character of Indian polity naturally increased further on the disintegration of the Gupta empire.

The wars of the Pratihara emperor, Nagabhata II, were fought by his feudatories, the Pratiharas of Mandor, the Guhilas of Chatsu, the Chaulukyas of Saurastra, and the Chahamanas of Sakambhari. Ramabhadra utilised the services of numerous chiefs in putting down his rebellious military commanders,[5] and ultimately it was perhaps a rising of feudatories that ended the Pratihara empire.

Contemporary literature corroborates this impression regarding the growing feudal character of Indian polity. In the *Samaraichchakaha* of Haribhadra Suri (c. 700-770 A.D.), a Sabara chief, on being defeated by Prince Kumarasena, recognises his overlordship and speaks thus to one of the Prince's followers, "O noble one, we did not know that this great man accompanied you. We have been vanquished by him and recognise him as our overlord on account of his great prowess and magnanimity. Hence you are our kinsman (*sambandhin*), and we cannot loot your property." And the reply given to the Sabara chief's declaration is equally significant, for it shows the deep-rooted character of the feudal spirit of the period. Instead of disclaiming this new bond, the Prince's follower acknowledges it with all due courtesy, and alacrity by saying, "With the *Aryaputra* (the Prince) as my overlord and you as my kinsman (*sambandhin*), is there anything that I do not have?"[6] Here a *Mlechchha* chief and a Vaisya enter into a bond of kinship, because of their common allegiance to one overlord. It was this kinship, we might note, which made the Rajputs and Bhils fight shoulder to shoulder in Maharana Pratap's fight for independence.

This bond created by allegiance entailed not only service by the liegeman, it rendered it obligatory for the overlord also to rush to his vassal's help in the time of his need. Sometimes this help was forthcoming even when the vassal's cause was unjust. When the Sabara chief had to fight against the troopers who came to punish him for his misdeeds, Kumarasena rushed to his help with the words, "He (the Sabara chief) has become my liegeman. Hence, even though he has been committing bad deeds, I cannot stand neutral, when he fights."

State Museum Library Lucknow

We may keep in view also another quotation from the *Samaraichchakaha*[7] in which the Sabara chief introduces himself to Prince Kumarasena's wife with the words, "This insignificant *bhrtya* of his overlord salutes you". The princess replies by saying, "May you have the favours appropriately associated with the *sala* of your master." Another good reference to *sala* (overlord's mansion) is on page 695 of the book, where a minister, instead of accusing Kumarasena's brother of tyranny, replies evasively, "Your brother is not unpopular. But since you have left the kingdom and the Maharaja (Prince's father) has taken religious orders, the people are afflicted by these events and feel that they are without the master's *sala*". Later on perhaps the word *sala* was replaced by the more high-sounding term, *jayanasala*.[8]

We find the idea of feudal kinship brought out even more prominently on page 773 of the book. When the frontier chief Vigraha rebels against his overlord, Maitribala, the latter's *yuvaraja*, Gunachandra, marches against the rebel but asks his people not to take very stringent measures, saying, "This Vigraha is an insignificant chief. But he had been paying tribute to my father. *Hence he is our kinsman* and we should not take any precipitate military action against him." That the prince actually believed in this sort of kinship can be seen from other events described in the same episode. When on being vanquished, the erstwhile rebel Vigraha wants to be the Princes *bhrtya*, the latter replies by saying, "Do not say so. You are the *bhrtya* of my father. Hence you are my elder brother. So if you like, go and see my father." The idea of feudal kinship could hardly have been put in better words.

On another well-known characteristic of feudalism, the grant of land in lieu of military service, we have valuable information from the *Tilakamanjari* of Dhanapala. It speaks of the grant of the whole of Uttarapatha, along with the towns and villages of Kashmir, as a *kumarabhukti* to Prince Harivahana. His companion, Samaraketu, gets Anga; and the lands to the west of it are said to be in the *vilambhaka* (jagir) of the *senani, Kamalagupta*.[9] This is interesting information. But even more interesting, because of being clearly reflective of the feudal conditions of the period, is the statement that Harivahana and Samaraketu had no anxieties, because they had distributed the towns and villages of their *bhuktis* among the *rajaputras*, who served them. The criterion that guided them was the *patrata* (merit) of the recipients of these lands. It is probably such people who formed the *maula* section of the army.

Interesting light on feudal relations can be had from the history of the term *avalagana*. We have dealt elsewhere with this topic.[10]

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[1] *Arthasastra*, VII, Chapter XV, Shamasastry's Eng. Translation, 2nd edition, p. 337.

[2] See Skandagupta's description in the Kahaum inscription, *Yasyopasthanabhumirnripati-sata-sirah-patavadhuta*.

[3] See Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See Bhoja I's Sagartal Inscription, verse 12.

[6] Ahmedabad edition, edited by B. H. Doshi, pp. 688-689.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 686.

[8] See the *Lekhapaddhati* (G.O.S.), p. 2.

[9] p. 85. Nirnayasagar Press, 1st edition.

[10] Delhi University Historical Studies.

HINDU CASTE THROUGH MUSLIM EYES IN THE 11th CENTURY

[*Summary*]

MISS R. D. BHURYEKHAN

The foreigners who visited India were struck by the phenomenon known as the caste system. The attention of the Muslims like Al Beruni, Minhaj-us-Siraj, Al Utbi or Ibn Asir, who have given interesting accounts of Indian history during the 11th century, was attracted by the Indian social institution of caste. The reason was chiefly that they had not seen the like of it in any part of the Muslim world. "The Muslims consider all men as equal, except in piety; whereas the Hindus consider men as different based on their birth; and this is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims" (Al Beruni's *India*, I, 100). It was therefore but natural that the institution of the caste aroused curiosity among the early Muslim inellectuals who visited India.

These Muslim travellers divided Indian Society not in the traditional fashion of 4 castes or Varna: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras—but into 7 different classes according to occupations. There is also a mention of a number of low castes or non-caste groups. From this it appears that the Muslims mistook the major occupations for castes. In view of this the conclusions arrived at or the information given about the caste system by Muslim travellers cannot be entirely relied upon, though in corroboration with Hindu scriptures the information might prove very useful. But as the nature of my paper would not permit of such corroborations, I have only stated the facts about the caste system through Muslim eyes during the 11th century.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN WESTERN DECCAN

FROM 1000-1300 A.D.

[*Summary*]

A. NAGABHUSANAM

Trade and commerce occupy a prominent place in the economic history of Western Deccan. A study of Western Chalukya, Yadava and Hoysala history throws much light on trade and commerce. During this period many of the towns were in flourishing conditions and trade and commerce reached its zenith.

Mercantile Bodies: Inscriptions dating from the 11th to 13th centuries reflect that trade was normally carried on by the Svamins of Ayyavale, the Settiguttas, the Mummuri Dandas, the Bananjas, Nana Desigal, Gavares, Gatrigas, Bachchas, Muligas etc., some of whom were divided into various sections.

Articles of Trade: Grain, Ginger, Turmeric, Dry Ginger, Garlic, Baze (Linn), Bhadramuste (Roxb), Green Cumin, Black-pepper, Mustard, Salt, Oil, Ghee, Mulikas, Betel and Betelnuts, Jaggery, Fruits, Perfume, Scent and Vegetables were sold. Besides Pearls, Rubies, Ivory, Ships, Parangucs, and Mane were sold.

Imports: During the early years of the 13th century cloth, perfumes, cotton, paddy, coarse sugar were imported. Epigraphic sources reveal that the merchants of Kurumbetta (Gokak Tq., Belgaum Dt.) brought rubies and ivory. Tulivalli (Hangal Tq., Dharwar Dt.) and Kuppatur were flourishing trade centres and were earmarked for betel-nut import.

Trade centres: Ships from Malay, Dulucus, Saurashtra, Gurjara, Ladda, Lands of Konkan, Lands of Veimullie, Chipalona, Sangameshwar, Vellapatan, Sivapura etc., came to Goa port which was a flourishing centre of trade and commerce having relations with the above countries as also with Raktapura (identified as Lakshmesvar, a taluq in Dharwar Dt.) and Ratnagiri of which Sangamesvar was 20 miles to the North-east.

Kolhapur seems to be a great centre of trade and commerce as the merchants of different towns were making grants to the god in Kollapura (Kolhapur). Other important centres, as known from the epigraphs, were Hirisingi, Kurumbetta, Hulgur (Dharwar Dt.), Kavadegolla and Sedambal (Miraj State).

Bazaars: Belgaum town was famous for paddy, while Lokkigundi (Gadag Tq., Dharwar Dt.) was famous for pearls and rubies.

Shops: Sedambal had cloth dealers shops, leather workers shops, paddy sellers shops as also cobblers, goldsmiths, basket makers shops while Lokkigundi had paddy sellers shops.

Transport: Merchants often applied load, (generally Bullock load, (kettel); half load, Buffallo load (both full and half loads), Horse load, Cart load, Ass load, Shoulder Poles, Man's load, Head load, Shoulder bag and Hasara.

Communications: There were several good roads, viz., one on the east of Maha Agrahara Ittage, Dharwar Dt., from Kukkanur to Talakallu, a second on the north of Bankapur, Dharwar Dt., a third from Kundur to Kennele. Other roads of importance were the road to Savanapalli, Musiyageri to Sirigupp, cross road in Kolur, road to Harnnagi.

Taxation on trade: The articles of merchandise were subject to tax. Two mana of paddy was collected on every ass load, buffalo load and cart load imported from outside. One mana of paddy worth a Hon was collected on head loads of grains coming in. The temple shops also paid tax, salt marts 1 sollage on each shop, retailed gold shops 2½ Visa (coin) every month on each shop. The merchants also paid professional tax, called Balanjivatere. Thus taxes were collected daily, monthly and annually both in kind and cash.

Weights and measures as used for trade and commerce: Green Ginger, Turmeric, Dry Ginger, Garlic, Baze (Linn) and Bhadramuste (Roxb) were sold by weight, Cumin, Black pepper, mustard Salt, 18 kinds of grain and oil and ghee were measured. The (latter) were used both for dry and solid.

Royal Patronage: There were merchants who received royal patronage. In this connection, mention may be made of Vesapayya Setti, a great trader, and Boppanayya of Miringe, who were favoured by the Silaharas, while Chamunda was the royal merchant of Yadava Kankara. Malli Setti, a merchant, was the high minister during the reign of Yadava Kanhara. The Sudi inscription of Chalukya Someswara I, refers to the renewal of merchants' Corporate Constitution and immunity from certain taxes. The understanding between the kings and the merchants paved the way for the flourishing trade and commerce. Western Deccan was full of Karnataka, Tamil, Telegu, Lala, Maleyala and foreign merchants (e.g., Parthians) and many of the towns acquired the famous name of 'Bhananju Vattana' and enjoyed flourishing conditions.

NAGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA, AND ITS REFERENCE IN VEDIC LITERATURE

U. N. Mukherjee

We all know that Naga cult was one of the most popular cults in ancient India. Many Naga-images have been found at Mathura, Rajagriha and other ancient places of the land which confirm this belief. Most of the Naga-images, found at Mathura, belong to the Kusana period, and the Naga cult flourished side by side with Jainism and Buddhism (vide *A.S.R.* 1908-1909 p. 162). In the opinion of the eminent scholar Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, 'Balarama, the elder brother of Krishna, has been developed from some Naga-God, and many images of Baladeva, now found in Mathura, were formerly Naga-images' (vide Dr. Vogel's *Catalogue of Mathura-Museum*).

It can thus be seen that the Naga-cult was prevalent in the region of Mathura before the advent of Krishna-cult there.

The problem, however, is now whether it was a Non-Aryan cult in origin or not. Though many eminent scholars of the land believe that the Naga-cult was purely Non-Aryan in origin, (pointing to the prevalence of Naga-worship in Indus-Valley), yet I have ventured to show in this paper that 'Naga-worship' as we know it today, originated in the Vedic Period, and reference to 'Ahi-Budhnya' (the serpent of the deep) has been made twelve-times in the Rigveda itself. This 'Ahi-Budhnya' is a divine-being, and is invoked to 'rejoice' and 'gladden-the hearts of his worshippers'. His blessings are desired 'as a boon for suppliants'. (Uta nohirbudhnyo nayaskah, no pinyusiva veti Sindhu"— vide Griffith's *Rv. Bk. I,* Hymn 186, verses 5 and 6).

In Rigveda, Ahi-Budhnya has been always mentioned in association with Visvadevas. Similarly he is mentioned with Aja-Ekpad (five times), Apam Napat (three times), Savitri (two times), Samudra (three times). Ahi-Budhnya is thus an atmospheric deity and in some of the texts, he is mentioned among the 'divinities of middle or aerial region'.

Ahi-Budhnya is also allegorically connected with Agni-Garhapatya in later Vedic texts like Vajsaneya-Samhita (5,33), Aitareya-Brahmana (3, 36), Taittiriya-Brahmana (1, 1, 10, 3) etc. Agni has been also compared to a 'raging-Ahi' (Rv. I, Hymn 79, verse I). The name of 'Ahi-Budhnya' has also been used as a name for Rudra as well as of Lord Siva in Post-Vedic literature (vide Dr. Vogel's, *Indian Serpent Lore,* pp. 3-4).

In almost all the post-Vedic literature, wherever Ahi-Budhnya has been mentioned (also in Yajurveda and Atharvaveda), he has been mentioned as a semi-divine being with great respect and devotion, and here was the germ of the 'Serpent-worship' in the Vedic period.

Therefore it cannot be surmised or logically derived that this conception of 'Ahi-Budhnya' was derived from the primitive "Serpent-worship of the Non-Aryans." Similarity of notions or ideas does not always indicate their common origin from any particular common people, tribe or race (vide Richard Pyne Knight's—*The Symbological Language of Art and Mythology,* p. 128). Therefore the theory of Dr. Fergusson that, 'serpent-worship was an outcrop from the old underlying strata of the population', or the theory of C. W. Wake that, "the serpent-worship ....originated in Central Asia, home of the Scythians," can no longer be tenable.

The conception and worship of divine-serpents was thus original to the Vedic Aryans and they did not borrow it from the Non-Aryan population of the land. For the support of the present theory advanced by the writer, certain passages from Taittiriya-Samhita (Anandasram Sk. Series No. 42, Kanda IV, Prapatha 2, Anuvatta 8, p. 2791) are quoted below:—

"Namo astu sarpebhyo ye ke che prithvimanu, Ye antarikse ye divi, tebhyah sarpebhyo namah, Ye do rochane dive, ye va suryasya rasmisu, Yesam apsu sadah kritan, tebhyah sarphebhyo namah, Ye isavo yatudhananam, ye va vanaspatim ranu, Ye va vatesu serate, tebhya sarphebhyo namah".

Obviously here salutations have been paid to those "divine snakes who inhabit the earth, the firmament, heaven in the rays of the sun, who reside in the water, who are the arrows of the Yatudhanas, who inhabit the trees, and who sleep in the hollows of the trees etc.".

In the Taittiriya-Brahmana there are certain passages where sacrificial offerings have been made to the divine serpents. (T. Brah., Kanda III, Pr. I, Anu I, Slokas V & VI, pp. 2 and 3, *Bibliotheca Indica Vol. III*), viz.:—

"Idam sarpebhyo havirastujusta, Asresa yesamanuyanti chetah ....

Tebhyah sarpebhyo madhumojjuhomi" etc.

Again, in the Asvamedha sacrifice, certain portions of the horse are offered to the divine serpents. Offerings of curds and barley are made to them by the Gods who seek their help to conquer their cousins, the Asuras. (Ref.: T. Brah. III, I, IV, Sloka—7).

It is however in the Asvalayana Grihya-sutra that the 'divine-serpents' have been for the first time termed as 'Naga'. 'Sharpa-bali' or sacrifice to the serpents, is distinctly laid down here and the ritual has been described in detail in this Sutra. In the Paraskara Grihya-sutra, 'Sarpadevajana' or divine serpents are invoked, offered 'payasa' and requested to wash and comb themselves, put unguents in their eyes, and garlands on their necks. In this way they are worshipped with all due formalities ("Anjanam-Kajjalam loukika-dipodbhavam souviram veti" ....—Paraskara Grihya sutra, Kanda II, Kandika 14, Sloka 17). Similar passages also occur in the Hiranyakesin Grihya-sutra.

It is interesting to note here that in one of the Slokas of Paraskara Grihya-sutra (Kanda II, Kan. 15, Sloka 2), 'payasa', has also been offered to God Indra, Aja-Ekapad, and Ahi-Budhnya. The Sloka is as follows:—

"Payasam-Indra-Sarpayitva-a-pupanscha-a-pupah stirtva-a-ajya bhagavistva-a-a-jya-huti juhoti-Iṇdrayena-a-Aja Aikapada-Ahir Budhnya-yaya-prousthapadabhyascheti".

From these passages it is now evident that 'worship of serpents' in Vedic period did not originate at all with the Non-Aryans. Yet, inspite of these convincing proofs, Dr. Fergusson and Prof. Macdonnell held the opinion that the serpent worship in the Vedas was influenced by the aborigines of the land. Prof. Max-Muller, in his 'Contributions to the Science of Mythology, Vol. II, pp. 598-99', however says, "Wherever there are serpents in any part of the world, we find something like snake-worship, if only for propitiating them, and there is no reason whatever for supposing that the Vedic people alone had to borrow a feeling of fear and awe for these mysterious creatures from their Non-Aryan neighbours".

Again in the same context, the learned Prof. says, "If people will only read what Dr. Winternitz has collected in his Sarpabali, we shall probably hear no more of the Non-Aryan character of Tree and Serpent-Worship".

Prof. Hopkins also, in his 'Religions of India', p. 154, opines that "in the Vedic times, Serpent Worship is not only known but prevalent".

We thus come to the conclusion that the Serpent-Worship in Rig-veda had nothing to do with the Serpent-Worship of either the Non-Aryans or the aborigines of the country and had an independent origin, as well as independent development. The conception originated with the Ahi-Vritra myth and later on developed from the notion of Ahi-Budhnya that the worship of divine serpents, as mentioned in Samhitas, Brahmanas and Grihya Sutras, came into existence during the Vedic period.

The Naga-Worship in Vedic period was thus derived from the worship of Ahi-Budhnya as mentioned in Rigveda and had nothing to do with the Serpent-Worship of the Non-Aryans of the land.

INDRA, A TRIBAL HERO WHO BECAME A GOD

[*Summary*]

KALYAN K. GANGULI

Of the hymns which form the collection of the Rig-Veda, by far the largest number (as many as 250) are found dedicated to the invocation of Indra, the redoubtable god of the Vedic pantheon. Though quite a lot has been known and said about him already by scholars interested in the Vedic lore much seems to remain uninterpreted about the origin and evolution of Indra as a god. The Rig-Veda knows the numbers of the gods to be 33 a figure given also in the Iranian tradition; but the number of gods actually mentioned in the Rig-Veda exceeds this number of thirty-three. The Brahmanas first systematised the list of these thirty-three as to include eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas and Indra and Brahma being the remaining two. The Satapatha gives Dyaus and Prithivi as the thirty-second and the thirty-third. The Niruktas reduce the number to three, Surya in the heaven, Vayu in the air and Agni on earth, occasionally replacing Vayu by Indra. The gods mentioned in the Vedic tradition were all in harmony with Nature and phenomenons of Nature; but Indra breaks this harmony; he shattered the chariot of the Dawn, warred against other gods, became drunk taking great draughts of soma and in feat of drunkenness could do anything immoral, even kill his own father. It is natural enough to believe that the original great god of the Aryans was Varuna and only later was Indra made to replace Varuna in the Indian tradition. Yacobi thought that Indra was of Indian origin though we know that the Mitanni knew him already in 1600 B.C. Of all the gods in the Rig-Veda Indra seems to have been endowed with the utmost of human qualities and his anthropomorphism does not appear to have proceeded from phenomenal abstraction and through theriomorphism of the Vedic type. He assumes the position of Varuna as king and snatches away the wheel of Surya to become the omnipotent. If different deities were held in highest esteem by different groups of people Indra had become supreme with most of the important kings mentioned by the Rig-Veda such as Divodasa and Sudas. By the time of the Atharva Veda Indra is deliberately placed above all other gods to become the supreme. He has been mentioned as Kausika or the family god of the Kusikas to which belonged Divodasa and Sudasa all whose victories were won with the active help of Indra. Later we find the rulers of the clan of Divodasa get consecrated as Indra (Aindrabhisheka). A closer study of all these material would reveal that the original Indo-European tradition did not know of any god as Indra; the name Indra does not give out any traditional meaning but appear more as a personal name; he was a heroic character full of virtues and vices more in keeping with human nature than with that of other Vedic gods; he assumes the place of Varuna and Surya and Vayu to be ever existent and all pervading; he is the family god of the Kusikas, that of Divodasa and Sudasa. Indra's son Kutsa mentioned to have been born of his thigh, has been considered as a real hero. Consequently Indra may also be considered as having been a hero of a particular clan, that of the Kausikas with whom had merged the Bharatas, the Purus and the Kurus already by the time of the Vedas. The memory of Indra by that time had become dim as a real person but had not already developed into that of a god equal or similar to other gods of the Rigvedic pantheon.

PERFORMANCE OF ASVAMEDHA IN ANCIENT ASSAM

DEBO PRASAD BAROOAH

Assam did not remain outside the pale of Indian civilisation. With the development of the sacrificial cult in ancient India, *asvamedha* came to be performed by rulers of Kamarupa as well to signalise their newly acquired independent status and to emphasise their power. In the legendary period, Vajradatta, the mythological king and grandson of Naraka, is credited with the performance of a number of horse-sacrifices as referred to in the Dubi plates of Bhaskaravarman.

In the historical period, the celebration of asvamedha has been attributed only to some kings of the Bhauma-Naraka (Varman) dynasty. The names of Mahendravarman, Narayanavarman, Bhutivarman and Sthitavarman are associated with the performance of the horse-sacrifice. But there are differences as to whether Mahendravarman or Narayanavarman was the first performer of asvamedha. Further, it has been disputed whether Mahendravarman's grandson Bhutivarman performed an asvamedha on his own account, as stated in the Barganga rock inscription, or on his father Narayanavarman's behalf. In the welter of controversy only Sthitavarman comes out unscathed in that his performance of two asvamedhas has not been subjected to any dispute.

At first N. K. Bhattasali suggested that Mahendravarman was the *dvisturaga medhahartta,* on the basis of his reading of the second Nalanda Clay Seal of Bhaskara. But according to Dr. Sircar's reading of the same text, it was Narayanavarman who celebrated the first two horse-sacrifices. However, the extension of the kingdom during Mahendra's reign, the text of the Seal, circumstantial evidence, and lack of evidence of any notable achievement on the part of Narayanavarman make the correctness of the assertion that Mahendravarman was the first performer of asvamedha almost inevitable. Further, Bhutivarman was a powerful ruler, having extended his sway even in the eastern directions. Thus, Bhutivarman does not appear to have acted on somebody's behalf. Thus, the claim of the Harganga inscription that he performed an asvamedha is reasonably correct.

Sthitavarman performed two horse sacrifices, one possibly to signalise his victory over border rebellions and the other to record another triumph in having succeeded in keeping intact the extent of his empire. Celebration of asvamedha testified to the rising fortunes of Kamarupa which, however, suffered a temporary decline during Susthitavarman's reign, until the glory of the kingdom was revived by Bhaskaravarman.

SERVICES IN SRIRANGAM TEMPLE IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

V. N. Hari Ram

The medieval South Indian temple played an important part in the social and economic life of the people enjoying an independent status. The liberal grants of kings, chieftains, rich merchants and others made it a self sustaining institution. It was perhaps the largest employer next to the king, "a great landlord, bank, school, hospital, fortress and what not."

The main source for purposes of this paper is the Koil Olugu, a sort of diary maintained by the accountants of the Srirangam temple with the main idea of recording benefactions, which I happened to edit recently in English. The writing of the diary or chronicle was probably commenced after the demise of Ramanuja and was continued right up to the assumption of power by the servants of the East India Company in the Trichinopoly district.[1] Besides dealing with benefactions this account mentions a variety of details like pontifical succession, festivals and their organisation, Muslim attacks and their effects, restoration of worship by the Vijayanagar chieftains, boundary disputes etc. Perhaps the most important sidelight thrown by the Olugu is an elaborate description of the temple services as reorganised by Ramanuja.

Ramanuja (c. 1050-1150 A.D.) spent the best part of his life in Srirangam both as the head of the Vaisnava darsana and the manager of the Srirangam temple. He introduced several reforms in the organization of the temple, one of which was the expansion of a five-fold division of temple servants into a ten fold one. This was probably the result of the inauguration of new subshrines and the elaborate celebration of festivities for all the deities as well as the introduction of new ones. The growing volume of the temple services was sought to be maintained, by increasing the number of service groups, each with specified and fixed duties.

The five groups of services that were in existence before Ramanuja were the *Kovanavar*, the *Kodavar*, the *Koduvaleduppar*, the *Paduvar* and the *Talaiyiduvar*. This was expanded by the great reformer into ten main groups of brahmana servants and ten subsidiary groups of sudra servants. The duties of the former were those connected with divine worship, festive processions, singing devotional songs, acting as personal attendants to the deity etc., while those of the latter included cultivation of the temple lands, maintaining accounts, supply of the requisite vessels, pottery, canopies, dancing and playing music before the deity during processions, etc. The chief of all groups of temple servants was the *Senapati Durantara* to which high office Ramanuja appointed his own nephew, Mudalivandan. He represented the deity called *Senai Mudaliar* or the Divine Prime-Minister. There were under officers known as the *Perum-ulturai-adigari* (superintendent of the inner services), the *Tirukkottarattu-adigari* (head of the store house), the *Pala-tiruppani-adigari* (supervisor of repairs and reconstructions) and the *Tiruvidaiyattattuadigari* (superintendent of the temple lands.)

Among the ten groups of brahmana servants the first was the *Tiruppatiyar*. They were the pilgrims from different sacred shrines, who had become the disciples of Ramanuja and hence were staying with him in Srirangam. Their duties were mostly restricted to the sanctum sanctorum.

The princpial duty of the next group, viz., the *Tiruppanisaivar* was to maintain order in his gatherings of people during festivals, processions and religious gatherings.

The *Bhagavata Nambis* were the personal attendants of the deity in the sanctum. They offered to the God incense, mirror, betel, sweet drinks (panakam) and garments, and decorated the idol with jewels and seated it on the appropriate vehicle for procession.

The *Ullurar* were the natives of Srirangam, who had attached themselves to Ramanuja as his disciples. They were also known as *Todavattituimaraiyor*, i.e., 'cleanly dressed brahmanas learned in the Vedas' (Todavatti-*dhautavastra*). They formed the nucleus of the arcakas, who carried on worship in the sanctum.

The *Vinnappam Saivar* were the temple singers and reciters, the chief of whom was the Arayar.

The Tirukkaragakkaivar or the 'holy water-pot carriers' fetched water every dawn from the Kaveri in pots placed on the backs of elephants. They made a store of it in the temple.

The *Stanattar* or *Talaiyiduvar* were perhaps originally providers of leaves and flowers to the temple. In the days of Ramanuja they bore the palanquin and the vehicles and mounts of God in procession.

The group known as the *Bhattal Kottu* was a new creation of Ramanuja. Their duty was to recite and expound daily in the divine presence the Vedas, the Sutras, the Puranas, the Stalamahatmya, the Divyaprabandas etc.

The primary duty of the *Aryabhattal* was to keep watch at the main gateways of the temple. They were to keep watch over the incomings and outgoings of articles of worship and provisions throughout day and night.

The Dasanambis looked after the flower gardens of the temple and made varieties of garlands for use in the temple. They had also the duties of holding torches, etc.

Ramanuja is said to have instituted three supplementary groups of servants to assist the above. One was the group of the *Ekangis*, who were brahmana bachelor servants that assisted the arcakas during puja hours. Another group was the *Sattadamudallis* (sudra servants), who had several duties connected with processions. The *Vetrapanis* or 'mace-holders' were the orderlies of the temple, who kept order and silence during the processions, the puja hours and the distribution of tirtham and prasadam.

The following were the Sudra groups. The first group, viz., the *Vellalas* included the servant in the store house who measured out grain. The second group, known as the *Kaikkola Mudalis* had a variety of functions like fanning the deity with fly whisks and blowing the conch and the trumpets during processions.

The *Emberumanadiyar* or the *Devadasis* were the dancing girls attached to the temple. They performed the kinds of dances like *malaippu. kelikkai, ulamadai, ammanai* etc., during the daily festivities and enacted the 'rasakrida' during the festival of the 'patinettam-perukku' (Adi 18th). On the occasions of the special festivals they danced in the tirumandapas outside the temple.

The *Tiruvelakkarar* brought the grains, fruits, etc., from the devadana villages and deposited them in the store house of the temple and, in addition, set up a watch over the store house.

To the class of *Kammalas* or *artisans* belonged the architects and sculptors, who repaired damaged gopuras, carved out images in stone and performed similar functions, the goldsmith who made, repaired and burnished the jewels of the deity, the coppersmith who made the various copper vessels required for worship, and the bell metal worker who made the bells, gongs and platters.

The *needle workers, silk weavers and carpenters* formed one group. Together they produced the huge circular umbrella and raised ornamental ceilings and embroidered canopies on festive occasions. Individually each class had its own duties. The needleworkers stitched the items of divine dress. The silkweavers prepared the garlands of silk-thread, chouries and tassels. The carpenters had many duties connected with the palanquin and the car. The washermen washed and dyed the clothes of the various deities of the temple. The *potters* supplied fresh cauldrons, pots and plates for use in the temple. Finally the drummers, pipers and dance masters formed the group of musicians.

The statement in the Koil-Olugu that Ramanuja expanded a five-fold division of temple servants into a ten-fold one need not be strictly and literally interpreted. It might be taken to mean that he systematised and reclassified the temple servants and elaborately laid down their duties. It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription in the Srirangam temple dated 1225 A.D.[2] not only mentions the '*ten persons* who governed the temple from ancient times', referring to the heads of the ten groups of temple servants, but refers to at least five groups among the ten enumerated by the Olugu, viz., the Bhagavata Nambis, the Sripadam-tangum Nambimar or Stanattar, the Vinnappam Saivar, the Aryabhattal and the Bhattal kottu. The code of kottu, the code of regulations laid down by Ramanuja for the conduct of the temple services, well known as *Udayavar-tittam* was strictly adhered to for nearly two centuries until it was rudely disturbed by the Muslim invasions of the first half of the 14th century.

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[1] Intrn.: Koli-Olugur, published by Rochouse and sons, 3, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras-1, 1961.

[2] ARE 54 of 1892.

A NOTE ON THE ANCIENT SHRINE OF PASUPATINATH, NEPAL

PRATAPADITYA PAL

The temple of Pasupatinath is one of the oldest and hallowed shrines not only of Nepal but of the entire Hindu world. Traditionally it appears to have existed even before the times of Emperor Asoka who is supposed to have visited the shrine with that of Guhyesvari. Mythologically the spot where the temple stands being known as Mrigasthali or Mrigendrasikhara was chosen by Siva himself who established the linga known as Pasupati or Kiratesvara. Following him came Uma who wished to be next to her lord and so remained on the other bank of Bagmati as Guhyesvari.[1]

Historically we have various materials from time immemorial to infer a fairly early date for the temple. In the Harigaon[2] writ of Amsuvarman mention is made of a grant made to the temple of Pasupati among others. In fact in their inscriptions, Amsuvarman and his successors invariably referred to themselves as favoured by the great Pasupati (*Pasupati-padanugrihita*). Presumably, therefore, the temple must have existed earlier. The chronology of these monarchs is still a controversial issue but according to the latest theory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3], Amsuvarman may be placed in the 7th century A.D. The same chronological difficulties appear in connection with the Pasupati series of coins but they testify all the same to an early popularity of the God. Although we possess no earlier inscription mentioning Pasupati directly, a number of inscriptions of the time of Manadeva and his immediate successors—*in situ* in or around the compound of Pasupatinath—record the dedication of several Siva *lingas*. This would indicate the popularity of the site with the Saivites as early as the time of Manadeva who may be placed in the 5th century.

In spite of the well-established antiquity of the shrine, however, the present temple as also the *linga* are undoubtedly late. The temple stands within a courtyard on the bank of the Bagmati and is surrounded both on the inside and outside by a large number of subsidiary shrines. There are reasons to believe that the spot where the present temple stands within the compound is not the original one, although in the same compound.

Several inscriptions and the Vamsavalis inform us of an invasion into Nepal by the Muslim ruler Sultan Shamsud-din Ilyas of Bengal (1342-1357)[4]. As was usual with the Muslim monarchs the invasion was characterised by an iconoclastic zeal and the disparition of the principal monuments of the valley could be attributed to this invasion. The temple of Pasupatinath naturally did not escape the ravages of the invasion. In the words of the Vamsavalis[5], "In the meantime the eastern Suratana Samasadina (Sultan Shamsud-din) came to Nepal and broke into three pieces the image of Pasupati, the whole of Nepal was ravaged by fire and the people were unhappy". The present shrine of Pasupatinath, like most other shrines in the valley, must, therefore, have been entirely rebuilt sometime after the invasion. The present shrine of Pasupatinath reflects the traditional but elaborate style of temple architecture that prevailed in 14th century Nepal.

What is of greater interest however is the *linga* within the shrine which is a *Mukhalinga*, carved in black slate stone. On stylistic consideration the *linga* cannot be dated prior to the 11th century. In fact, as we have already seen, the original *linga* was broken into three pieces during the Muslim invasion in the 14th century. Stylistically, therefore, the existing *linga* displays influences of the early medieval eastern Indian school of sculpture. Iconographically, it may have been a copy of the original but the present *linga* definitely is not an example of Gupta art as claimed by most of the early scholars.

Each of the faces on the four sides shows the third eye on the forehead and carved below each face on the body of the linga is a pair of hands, the right displaying the *abhaya mudra* and holding the rosary and the left holds the vase or *Kamandalu*. What is of interest about this particular *linga* is that the face on the south, despite the third-eye, is strikingly similar to the face of the Buddha as found in the usual images of the latter. Here the head of the southern face is covered with tiny curls turning to the right and known technically as the *daksinavarta* curl[6] In the entire realm of Indian iconography such curls are exclusively associated with the image of the Buddha. Although no other iconic attribute of the Buddha is found in association with the southern face, it must, however, be identified with that of the Buddha.

Interesting light is thrown on the association of the Buddha with Siva in the *Skandapurana.*[7] In the *Himavatkhanda* of this *purana* a section is entitled as *Nepalamahatmya.* The first chapter therein is dedicated to the advent of Pasupati to the valley. Part of the chapter is concerned with a myth identifying Siva with the Buddha.

It is said that after the Lord Pasupati had settled in Slesantakavana with Uma, other gods and goddesses came from all over India to live with them. Among them was Janardana who came from Saurashtra in the form of Buddha. In the valley he practised great austerities on the hill called Manidhatu by kindling five flames and from his sweat there issued the river called Manimati. Girija, being pleased at his devotion, manifested herself as Vajrayogini and told Buddha that the tirtha of Pasupati was created by Siva himself to whom the local people were devoted. She assured the Buddha, however, that the people would become devoted to the Buddha and advised him to establish a linga at the confluence of Bagmati and Manimati. Following the advice of Uma the merciful (*Karunika*) Buddha established a *linga* and called it "Karunikesvara". It is further stated in the text that one who sees the *linga* called Karunikesvara on the 8th day of the white fortnight of the month of *bhadra* ascends to heaven.

The above legend of the *Skandapurana* therefore very definitely establishes a tradition of the early association of the spot with Buddhism. The iconographic identification of the Buddha with Siva was not entirely new. Dr. J. N. Banerjea[8] has already pointed out that "a very favourite mode of representing Lakulisa in eastern India (especially Orissa) is to show him as Buddha in the great miracle of Sravasti". In Nepal where the cults of the Buddha and of Siva are of equal importance such an iconographic syncretism is hardly surprising.

There appears no difficulty then in identifying the southern face on the *linga* of Pasupatinath as that of Karunikesvara. Nepal has always remained a stronghold of Buddhism and it is not unlikely that sometime in its history a conflict may have arisen as to the affiliation of the shrine, which was and still is by far the most solvent temple in the valley owing to its fame all over the Hindu world. Further, the temple of Pasupatinath appears to have exercised considerable political influence during the rule of the Lichchhavi dynasty in Nepal. Tussles over the possession of a shrine are not entirely unknown in the religious history of India too and an example nearer home is that of the famous lawsuit regarding the right of worship at the temple at Bodhagaya. The valley of Nepal practically belonging to the Newars, majority of whom are Buddhist, the Hindus may have compromised and hence the origin of the *linga* and the myth in the *Skandapurana* to justify the inclusion of the Buddha. To the Hindus it did not involve a great sacrifice as the Buddha had already been accepted as one of the ten avataras of Vishnu and, indeed, in the myth narrated above, Janardana, one of Vishnu's names, is attributed to the Buddha.

That there had been some such conflict is also indicated by another curious fact. On the eighth day of the white fortnight of the month of *Karttika* the Newari priests are allowed to perform special rites at the shrine. Entering the temple long before the break of dawn these Newar priests worship the *linga* behind closed doors after having placed a crown (*mukuta*) of the Panca Dhyani Buddha on the top of the *linga*. As soon as they finish the regular Hindu priests of the temple rush in and cover up the *mukuta* with flowers and leaves so as to hide it from the Hindu devotees who begin pouring in by the early hours of the morning. It is customary to leave the crown on the *linga* for 24 hours. The rest of the day the Newar priests offer sacrifice within the courtyard in a corner dedicated to Bhairava. After midnight the Newars again enter the temples to remove the *mukuta*. The festival is known as Muka Ashtami, which apparently is a Newari corruption of Mukuta Ahstami.

One other curious fact about this temple is that it is run by Indian priests hailing from the south of the Vindhyas. It is imperative that these priests must be from Karnataka, Maharastra, Andhra and Tamil countries. Among the four priests at present there are two from Maharastra (Gujar and Baodekar) and the other two from Karnataka both being Adiges. The name of the chief priest is Rawal Subramanya Adige. On enquiry the chief priest informed me that the tradition exists from the time of Sankaracharyya who is said to have visited the shrine and established south Indian priests so that there would be no prejudices against local priests or local hankering after power. The priesthood is further not hereditary and usually the chief priest chooses the ablest candidate from any of the four countries beyond the Vindhyas as indicated above. The Brahmins have no social contacts with local people and marriage with Nepalese is strictly forbidden. They go back all the way to their native villages to bring their brides from amongst their own clan. The temple and the priests subsist on annual royal grants (which are nominal), public donations and charities, and revenues collected from its landed property. Of the money collected daily at pranami from the votaries two thirds go to the four priests and one third is divided among the other Nepali subordinate attendants at the temple. In all matters of administration, distribution and arbitration the chief priest is the supreme authority.

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[1] *Skanda Purana, Nepalamahatmya* Section, Ch. 1, *Slokas* 23 f.

[2] Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters,* n. XXXVI.

[3] R. C. Majumdar, *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* Vol. I, 1959, No. 1, p. 47 f.

[4] S. K. Saraswati, *Itihasa,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 150 ff. L. Petech has discussed this invasion in detail but the date of the invasion as given by him, following the *History of Bengal* (Dacca University) which is based on the reading of K. P. Jayswal, is apparently wrong. The year given in the inscription was read by Jayswal as 467. But Sri S. K. Saraswati has pointed out that it should be emmended to 470. Thus the Muslim invasion took place in N.S. 470/1350 A.D. and not N.S. 467/1347 A.D. as inferred by earlier scholars. Sri S. K. Saraswati's reading is as follows:

Saptatyavyadhike Srimannopalabda chatuhsate
Margasirshe site pakshe dasamyam gurubasare
suratrana samasadino vangala bahulai-rbalaih
sahagatya cha nepale bhagno dagdhascha sarvasah.

[5] A passage from the *Vamsavali,* preserved in the Darbar Library and translated by Petech in *Mediaeval History of Nepal,* p. 118.

[6] I have also seen another small stone sculpture in Nepal where the head of an image of Balagopala (Gopala crawling on his knees with a ball in the right hand) is covered with tiny curls as found on the head of the Buddha images.

[7] Skandapurana, Nepalamahatmya section, Ch. I, sl. 57-65.

Saurashtradesadagatya Buddharupi Janarddana
manidhatau girivare tapasyamakarodvasi
tapasyatou girivare panchagnijvalaya bhrisam
prasvedannirgata sadyo namna manimati nadi
tapasyam kurvatastasya Buddhasya girija tada
tushta babhuva prakata namna sa vajrayogini
uvacha girija Buddham varam varaya subrata

srutva girisuta vakyamubacha bhagavanstada
sadacharapara loka hyasmin dese bhavantivati
Buddhavakyam siva srutva proha tam bhaktavatsala
Sivena rachitan kshetram bhavataapi tapah kritam
atah kshetrottame Buddha saivacharaparayana
bauddhacharapara loka bhavishyanti na samsayah
bagamatya manimatyascha sangame kshetrasattame
sivadharmaparo bhutva lingam samsthapaya prabho
strutva girisutavakyam Buddhah karunikastada
sangame sthapayamas lingam karunikesvaram
bhadramase sitashtamyam lingam karunikesvaram
ye drakshyanti nara bhaktaya te cha vai svargagaminah"

[8] Dr. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., p. 6.

A UNIQUE RELIEF FROM SUKHASARA

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI

On the Gujarat-Malwa Mewar border in Panchamahala District and Santrampur Taluqa, about 35 miles from the present day Santroad Rly. station, stands Sukhasar, a village with a population of about 45,000 souls, largely Bhils. The name of the deity among the Bhils is Savavahini, *i.e.*, the goddess who rides on a corpse. The original temple is now lost and the image, greatly disfigured by coloured coatings, is lodged in a small newly constructed temple. The Bhils come and make offerings to the deity, which till the last decade included animal sacrifices also. The area around the Ashram School is strewn with a number of pillars of the old temple but hardly any images. The relief in hand is practically the only one which was discovered in these ruins by Mr. H. A. Mistry, Registrar, S. V. University, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

Description of the relief: This mutilated carved grey-stone (13½" × 7½") relief shows a dreadful female figure in a semi-sitting posture with her bent knees hanging downwards. However, the left knee is inclined slightly towards the left and the right leg, although in symmetry with the left leg, is slightly projecting towards the onlooker. Her hands bend to dip into the abdomen of a male figure who lies on his back on her lap with his head on her left thigh. He holds a curved dagger in his left hand, bent earthwards at right angle, to prick her thigh between the lines and the knee. His knees bend at an acute angle. So his knee-caps touch her elbow and his soles rest on her right thigh.

Costumes: Both the female figures wear bodice: The standing female wear some lower garment like petticoat, whose waist-string runs very artistically below her navel, almost parallel to a curvature in the stomach of the subject, a little above her navel. That some sort of loose upper garment hangs down the left shoulder of the standing lady, and passes under her left arm to run towards the right thigh can be inferred from a line which starts from the lower border of her left breast and descends over the waist-line of the petticoat to proceed over the right thigh. A similar line can be traced in the other female figure also; but her garment runs leftwards and passes under the left arm near the wrist. The curved line hanging from the left elbow to the forehead of the male figure is, possibly, the back portion of this garment to hang over the hips. The two ends of a piece of cloth which hangs between the legs of the central female figure, branch off into opposite directions to end in symmetrical acute angles.

Ornaments : That both the female figures wear thick necklaces is quite obvious, but the designs of these necklaces are not clear. A beaded string runs horizontally along the lower borders of their breasts and passes under their arms. The necklace and the lower string are joined by a string, made of beads. The male figure also, possibly, has a necklace.

The female figures are adorned with crowns of dissimilar designs. The crown of the standing figure has two overlaid rings—the upper ring being smaller than the lower one. Then it spreads out like an umbrella which is capped with a 'turrah'. The main figure has a crown of five tapering rings—the top one, being the smallest of all.

The garland on the person of the main female figure which at present extends upto her anklets, suggests the size of the garland which touched the calves of a perfectly erect figure.

Hair style : The hair of the standing female are parted in the middle without any elaborate ornamentation in style except that they are so arranged that they spread over a part of the forehead, parallel to her brow.

Mutilations : The right breast of the standing figure near the parting line is damaged and the portion below the calves of both the female figures is lost along with some portion of the right vertical column below its middle band. The left column near its base and the umbrella-like feature of the crown of the standing female are damaged. The capping drum of the right column is completely erased. So is the design on the right of the capping triangle.

On the whole the entire piece is greatly blurred. The features of the central female figure have lost all their edge.

The same is not true of the standing figure. Her fine pointed nose and the sockets of her beautiful eyes are intact. The face of the male is nothing more than a featureless circular lump.

One cannot help concluding that the graceful servility of the standing figure, the stern and terrible posture of the central female and the helplessness of the male figure—all the three blended together mark out this piece as a tolerably beautiful composition. Even though it cannot be claimed to be an artistic creation of a very high order, the piece in hand cannot be brushed aside as a mere trash.

Identification: Ordinarily, this piece would have been identified as "Nrsimha tearing Hiranyakasipu" and the standing lady as the decorative human attendant. But in view of the breasts of the central figure, this view cannot be pressed. Is it Camunda? Goddess Camunda, one of the Sapta Matrikas, has a dead person on her lap. But the dagger in the hand of the victim suggests that he is struggling, which cannot be true of the corpse, the necessary adjunct of Camunda. Is it Narsimhi? Narsimhi is one of the Sapta Matrikas but her usual representation is quite different than the one given in this relief.

Even though the Sapta Matrikas are usually recognizable by their faces, none of them, is shown in the pose which corresponds with the exploits of her male counterpart. Thus Narsimhi can be expected with a face of a lion but not in the pose which resembles to Nrsimha's tearing of Hiranyakasipu. However, in Durga Saptasati (8/37) Narsimhi is described as an accomplice of Camunda in the latter's war with Raktabija. There the former is reported to have torn off many demons and eaten them away. But such a representation of Narsimhi should be in a dynamic form and not in a static pose like the one in hand. So it appears that the present relief represents Narsimhi's fighting mood during the battle with Raktabija in a conventionalized form. However, I cannot say anything with certainty at present.

Time: The costumes and headgear of both the female figures suggest cir. XIII-XIV, i.e., the last century of the Hindu rule in Gujarat, as the time of this relief. At that time Gujarat had not lost its artistic virility and the art traditions of Siddharaj Jaisimha and Kumarapal were alive.

REPORT OF DISCUSSION

RAPPORTEURS

DR. YOGENDRA MISRA (PATNA)
MISS PRATIPAL BHATIA (DELHI)
SRI PRATAPADITYA PAL (CALCUTTA)

First Session—29.12.61—10-30 A.M.

(A) ARYAN PROBLEM

Paper No. 1—NEW LIGHT ON THE ARYAN PROBLEM
S. D. GYANI (UJJAIN)

Paper No. 2—GANA—THE MOST ANCIENT ARYAN SOCIETY
R. C. JAIN (SRI GANGANAGAR)

COMMENTATOR—DR. DASARATHA SHARMA (DELHI)

The Aryan problem has been called a racial problem by some, a linguistic problem by others, a cultural problem by the rest.

After these general observations on the four papers, belonging to the section of the Aryan Problem, the commentator proceeded to comment on the papers that had not been read. This was objected to by the audience which wanted comments only on papers read before it.

As to Dr. Gyani's paper the commentator said that it was mainly based on cultural affinity of the Aryans. But he pointed out that it was difficult to know the exact connotation of the term *Saptasindhu* which has been interpreted as the rivers of the Punjab on the one hand and those of Afghanistan, Iran and the Punjab on the other.

The problem of Aryan migration in India becomes very difficult. It was further pointed out that there was a good deal of controversy among the scholars on the Aryan problem, whereas Dr. Gyani has asserted only his point of view and had ignored the other opinions completely.

Discussion: SRI BHAGAVAD DATTA, formerly of the Punjab University, opined that the English and French authors fail to understand the meaning of the gods of the first order, of the second order and of the third order.

SRI LALTA PRASAD PANDEY, Research Fellow, University of Delhi, said that the light shed by archaeological excavations on the Aryan problem has been completely ignored. Excavations at Kausambi and Hastinapura prove two immigrations of the Aryans from West Asia. These immigrations took place in the 16th century B.C. and above 1100 B.C. as the excavations of the sites prove respectively.

SRI A. K. MITRA, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi, pointed out that Taylor's book shows that some skulls found in the Roman tombs prove the existence of the Indo-Europeans.

DR. KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI, University of Calcutta, opined that in so far as the Aryan problem is concerned archaeology would be of greater help and later on he brought to notice the remarks of Childe and Hall.

Reply by: DR. S. D. GYANI.

The term Aryan has no connotation either linguistic or social, but only cultural because what we know of the Aryans is from the *Rigveda*. The problem should be tackled with the help of Vedic Literature mainly and especially the *Rig Veda*. The Aryans are the kith and kin of this soil of India.

(B) HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Paper No. 3—HISTORY OF BHINMAL

K. C. JAIN (AJMER)

Discussion: DR. DASARATHA SHARMA (Delhi) questioned the nationality of Varmalata. Vakpati II is not Vakpati II of Paramara dynasty. There is no reference to the conquest of Bhinmal by Paramara Vakpati II in 985 A.D., a date given by SRI K. C. JAIN.

(C) POLITICAL HISTORY

Paper No. 4—POST BHARATA WAR KINGS OF VIDEHA AS KNOWN FROM THE MAHABHARATA

DR. YOGENDRA MISHRA (PATNA)

SRI BHAGAVAD DATTA spoke on it. A suitable reply on the chronological scheme was tendered by DR. MISHRA.

Paper No. 5—THE ANTIQUITY OF THE AUDUMBARAS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA (CALCUTTA)

SRI BHAGAVAD DATTA observed that Parasara places the Audumbaras in the Middle Region. SRI K. C. JAIN located the Salvas in the Matsya country (Alwar region).

Paper No. 6—THE DURATION OF IKSHVAKU RULE

DR. M. RAMARAO (TIRUPATI)

Discussion: DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur) said *Vijaya* would mean in the context of the inscription, 'victorious' and not cyclic year. Cyclic years are referred to in the later inscriptions.

SRI K. GOPALACHARI, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Government of India, said that it is better to go back to the Satavahana dynasty which is earlier than the Ikshvakus and not the Vakatakas, who came after the Ikshvakus.

In Satavahana inscriptions *Vijayasamvatsara* means victorious year.

Paper No. 7—A NOTE ON AN EXPRESSION IN THE ALLAHABAD PRASASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

SURESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA (CALCUTTA)

No Discussion.

Paper No. 8—NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF RAMAGUPTA

KRISHNA DUTTA BAIPAI (SAUGOR)

Discussion: DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur): The Eran Inscription does not refer to the wife of Samudragupta but refers figuratively to Lakshmi (the royal fortune) going to the sons and grandsons of Samudragupta. Sridharavarman did not belong to the Kshatrapa family. There is a similarity between the coins of Ramagupta and those of the Nagas. Samudragupta also issued copper coins with the legend 'Samu' to supply the needs of the people of Eastern Malwa. In that case, Ramagupta might have been his son.

DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta): Numismatic evidence does not solve the problem of Ramagupta and Sri Bajpai's view that Ramagupta did not rule in Magadha but in Malwa may be a surmise. There is nothing to prove that Ramagupta of the coins was Ramagupta of the '*Devichandraguptam*'. The former was a ruler of Malwa.

Reply by SRI BAJPAI: Samudragupta did visit Eran. Sridharavarman was a Saka prince that we know for certain. But we do not know whether he was Kshatrapa or not. We cannot say that Kacha and Ramagupta were one and the same person, because their coins differ. Regarding Ramagupta being a local ruler, we have no evidence of any local ruler named as Ramagupta.

Second Session—29.12.61—2.30 P.M.

Paper No. 9—THE DATE OF VARAHAMIHIRA

AJAY MITRA SASTRI (NAGPUR)

The *Panchasiddhantika* was composed in A.D. 505. Varahamihira flourished in the last quarter of the 5th and the 1st half of the 6th century A.D.

Discussion: DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta): There is no dispute about the date of Varahamihira. The writer should not make much use of the iconographical data contained in Varahamihira's writing.

Paper No. 10—HARSA'S RELIGION

H. V. S. MURTHY (GAUHATI)

Discussion: DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur): There is no point in considering that Buddha was an incarnation of Vishnu and so when Buddha's image was carried it means that Vishnu was being honoured by Harsha. In that case, Harsha could carry Vishnu's image. Also he is not called *Paramabhagavata*.

DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta): Buddha and Siva are equated from an early period. Harsa's seal contains bull.

DR. DASARATHA SHARMA (Delhi): There is no reference either in literature or in inscriptions about Harsa being a Bhagavata. Followers of different faiths came to console Harsha on the death of his father. But there is no mention of his Vaisnavism. There is no ground on which we can say that Harsha worshipped Buddha in the form of Vishnu or his *avatara.*

Paper No. 11—THE DAHIAS OF RAJASTHAN

JAY NARAYAN ASOPA (JAIPUR)

No Discussion

Paper No. 12—GIRWAR STONE INSCRIPTIONS

DR. DASARATHA SHARMA (DELHI)

No Comments

Paper No. 13—MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF THE PALA RULERS

O. P. VERMA (NAGPUR)

No Discussion

Paper No. 14—THE SATAVAHANA COINS

DR K. GOPALACHARI (NEW DELHI)

Discussion: DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur): More coins of the Satavahanas have been found recently. Kumara means not a prince but

Kartikeya. Vedasri's mother was Naganika who is introduced as the wife of Satakarni in the Nanaghat inscription where salutation of Kumara, i.e., Kartikeya also occurs. So it is not true that Kumara and Naganika were ruling together.

(D) SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Paper No. 15—VISHTI (FORCED LABOUR) IN ANCIENT INDIA

PROF. RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY (BEGUSARAI)

Discussion: DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur): The writer's remark that the people lost all interest in the society in which they lived is too sweeping, nay unwarranted. Also, Vishti was not very widespread. Moreover, it was a levy for lodging and conveyance of officers which is still in practice in some form or other.

DR. S. D. GYANI (Ujjain): Vishti did not mean forced labour in the present sense of the term. It might mean free labour or voluntary labour (or *Sramadana of today*). Kautilya's Arthasastra refers to *vishti.* It was a sort of co-opeartive effort which later on became oppressive.

Third Session—30-12-61—10 A.M.

Paper No. 16—SOME ASPECTS OF INDO CHINA MARITIME TRADE (C 250—1500 A.D.)

ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI (CALCUTTA)

No Discussion

Paper No. 17—THE OFFICE OF THE DANDANAYAKA

MISS PRATIPAL BHATIA (NEW DELHI)

Discussion: DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta) drew the writer's attention of the Pre-Gupta period wherein the word 'Dandanayaka' occurs.

DR. N. R. RAY (Calcutta): In Europe civil and military officers were combined as late as 17th century A.D. The bifurcation of civil and military offices is comparatively very modern.

DR. S. D. GYANI (Ujjain): "Dandanayaka" should not connote the military side only. It should include police-officer also.

DR. KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI (Calcutta): The word "*danda*" can be traced back to the *Mahabharata* wherein *danda* is described as one of the attributes of the king.

Reply by MISS BHATIA: The word "*danda*" has been used by me in the sense of forces and in that of the rod and chastisement for law and order.

Paper No. 18—MECHANICAL DEVICES IN ANCIENT INDIA

KALI KUMAR DUTTA SASTRI (CALCUTTA)

No comments.

Paper No. 19—ROYAL LIFE IN THE 12TH CENTURY A.D.

DR. OMPROKASH (DELHI)

The paper was read. The references to the dainty dishes created lively interest in the paper.

Paper No. 20—SOME LIGHT ON FEUDAL ELEMENTS IN INDIAN POLITY (700-1000 A.D.)

DR. DASARATHA SHARMA (DELHI)

Discussion: DR. N. R. RAY (Calcutta): It is better to use an Indian term *Samantapraja* than the English term feudalism, because the connotation of feudalism is different from *Samantavada* that prevailed in India. There should be an explanatory note when we translate the *avalaga* or *avalagana*. These are Prakrit terms derived from the Sanskrit term *apalagan*. Subinfeudation upto the third stage can be traced in Bengal from a single inscription.

DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur): Samantas were expected to do some military service as is clear from the use of the word dandopanata in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin.[1] Indra (Samanta) also had samantas.

DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta): Feudalism in India was different from European feudalism.

V. N. HARIRAO (Tirupati) spoke about feudalism in South India.

Reply by DR. SHARMA: Feudalism, being the most convenient term has to be used, unless some new term is suggested by the scholars. *Avalaga* is used in Rajasthani and Gujrati. Olega meaning feudal subjection is used in Kannada dictionary.

Paper No. 21—HINDU CASTE THROUGH MUSLIM EYES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

SHRIMATI BHUREKHAN (BOMBAY)

No discussion.

Paper No. 22—TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE WESTERN DECCAN (1000-1300 A.D.)

A. NAGABHUSANAM

Discussion: DR. N. R. RAY (Calcutta) questioned the writer on the following points—

(a) What about the equation of economic term modern economy?

(b) Was the trade of the Western Coast with Parthians or Persians ?

(c) Were the Chinese present on the Western Coast ?

(d) Were the Arabs present on the Western Coast?

COMMENT BY THE PRESIDENT: These points, as Dr. Ray, said are very important.

(E) RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Paper No. 23—NAGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA AND ITS REFERENCE IN VEDIC LITERATURE

U. N. MUKHERJEE (LUCKNOW)

Comments—

DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta): Patanjali refers to *Vaidik* and *Laukika* as gods. There was a great deal of popular and folk element which played a great part in the development of the Naga cult. We won't be surprised if it was due to non-Aryans. There were many elements which were amalgamated in the various cults of the later Vedic period. So we cannot say that Naga worship was Vedic in origin and development. It may also be added that Fergusson's conclusion was based on a wrong premise. Homage was being paid to Buddha and not that tree and serpent were being worshipped.

Paper No. 24—INDRA, A TRIBAL HERO WHO BECAME A GOD

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI (CALCUTTA)

Discussion: SRI K. K. THAPLAYE (LUCKNOW). Evidence at our disposal is quite enough to prove that Indra was a tribal hero. This origin is still a mystery and cannot be associated with any of the atmospheric goods. Bhagavad Datta (formerly of the Punjab University) said (i) Ahi—Buddhya is the name of Siva also. (ii) Indra is a historical person. Vedic Indra is different from Laukika Indra.

Replies by Paper-readers.

Mr. U. N. Mukherjee and Dr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli gave suitable replies. The latter added that Indra was concerned with the concept of sovereignty also in India.

Paper No. 25—PERFORMANCE OF ASVAMEDHA IN ANCIENT ASSAM

DEBI PROSAD BAROOAH (GAUHATI)

PROF. R. K. DIKSHIT (Lucknow): Mahendravarman and Bhutivarman performed the Asvamedha Yajnas rather than Narayanavarman.

Paper No. 26—SERVICES IN THE SRIRANGAM TEMPLE IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

V. N. HARI RAO (TIRUPATI)

DR. N. R. RAY (Calcutta): This paper suggested a new line of research i.e., organisation of services. It had not merely religious importance, but a bearing on contemporary economic conditions as well. He referred to a recent article in J.A.S.B., on the records of the Lingaraja temple of Bhuvanesvara. It has shed a flood of light on social conditions of Orissa. Price Indexes, list of commodities etc., are given in Puri records. Dwaraka temple also has Medieval records. All these should be studied carefully.

(F) ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Paper No. 27—THE ANCIENT SHRINE OF PASHUPATINATH, NEPAL

PRATAPADITYA PAL (CALCUTTA)

Paper No. 28—A. UNIQUE RELIEF FROM SUKHASARA

ARYA RAMACHANDRA G. TIWARI (VALLABH VIDYANAGAR)

Discussion on both the Papers of this Section read in the Conference.

DR. J. N. BANERJEA (Calcutta) appreciated both the papers and complimented the writers. He supported Mr. Tiwari in the latter's identification of the deity and mentioned her attribute as *savasana, i.e.*, 'The female (divinity) seated on a corpse'.

DR. N. R. RAY (Calcutta) congratulated the paper readers and stated that Brahmanical priesthood of Nepal played an important part in Nepal dyarchy.

Replies—

Suitable replies were given by the writers.

Comments—PROF. R. K. DIKSHIT (Lucknow), who had been appointed Commentator for this particular section, said that no comments were necessary for any of the papers.

The President of Section I (Ancient India), DR. B. P. SINHA of the University of Patna, in his concluding remarks thanked the paper readers and other participants of the Conference.

SECTION II

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROFESSOR S. NURUL HASAN

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over this section of the 24th session of the Congress. Being only too deeply conscious of my own shortcomings as a student of history, I venture to assume that the compliment is really intended for those who are trying to study the history of the Indian people during the medieval period rationally and objectively, untrammelled by political, religious or regional prejudices, and who are attempting to understand with a scientific outlook the nature and structure of Indian society as a whole, with its movements and crises; its thoughts and emotions, its politics and culture.

It is almost a truism to say that objectivity and a genuine search for truth are necessary for the proper pursuit of knowledge. Most historians will agree that it would be dangerous to base one's research on *a priori* hypotheses, or to look for only such facts as seem to fit into one's preconceived notions, or to 'explain away' inconvenient data. Even with the best of will, the ideal of absolute objectivity is difficult to attain. But the capacity for dispassionate study, impartiality in the selection of data and the attempt to see things in their proper historical perspective are nevertheless qualities to be cultivated as a discipline if a true understanding of the past is to be made possible.

Unfortunately, these accepted canons of historiography are not always applied to the study of medieval Indian history. Only too often there is a tendency to look at the history of this period through the coloured glasses of communalism. The picture of conflict between followers of different religions gets out of focus, and the vision of historical processes becomes distorted. That there were conflicts on religious issues or that there were powerful separatist cultural movements among the different communities which at times engendered mutual antagonism, is undeniable. But at the same time the existence of opposite trends, the trends in favour of unity and cultural synthesis, should not be underestimated either. In any case, it would be perilous to assume that conflict between religious communities was the central theme around which the drama of medieval Indian history revolved.

It is regrettable that forces of communalism, revivalism and chauvinism have deeply corroded the political life of this sub-continent in modern times; it is even more disconcerting that those who pursue communal politics look for a justification of their present policies from history. They project their own conceptions in the understanding of the past, and seek to identify themselves with such medieval trends as appear to them to be akin to their emotions. Since the historian cannot remain aloof from the various political trends, it is understandable that some of them are unable to escape the influence of such an outlook in their historical writing.

I would not presume to criticise the writings of well-known scholars in this respect. But I venture to mention a few examples of how even some famous historians have permitted their assumptions to appear as axiomatic, not requiring academic scrutiny.

In his Introduction to the *History of Freedom Movement* published by a Board of Editors appointed by the Government of Pakistan, Dr. I. H. Qureshi has criticised the Mughal government in the following words: "It was a crime to lull the Muslims into believing that the maintenance of the Empire was not their primary responsibility. Even more disastrous was the encouragement of the feeling that tolerance implied the belief that all religions were merely different paths, all equally good, for reaching the same God. This was an even more potent cause of the demoralisation and degeneration of the Muslims, especially their acceptance of subtle non-Islamic ideas. Indeed this was the darkest period in the history of Indian Islam"[1].

Not entirely dissimilar is the approach of the distinguished Indian historian, Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Writing on 'Nationalist Historians' for a study on historical writing organised by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, the learned scholar states: "The newly acquired ideal of a 'secular State' is opposed to all known facts of Indian history. But it is sought to be buttressed by a new conception of Indian history and culture, which recognises no distinct Hindu or Muslim culture in modern India, and looks upon these, along with European or Western culture, as so many streams meeting together only to mingle and lose their separate entities in the sea of Indian culture. The Muslims, however, repudiate any such idea, and Islamic culture is not only recognised as a distinct entity, but has been formally adopted as the basis of the new State of Pakistan. In India, however, a small but gradually increasing class of influential persons now fight shy of the term 'Hindu' as a designation of a cultural unit, and only think in terms of an Indian culture. Whatever may be the value of such an idea in shaping India's culture, it becomes positively dangerous when it encroaches upon the domain of Indian history and seeks to ignore the existence of Hindu culture as one of the most potent and patent facts of Indian history even today"[2].

The tendency on the part of certain Indian or Pakistani historians to be influenced by religious prejudices, though hardly justifiable, is at least understandable. However, many Western historians and institutions are also emphasising the irreconcilability of Hindu and Muslim culture. It was hoped that with the end of the British rule in India, the imperialist attempt to present medieval Indian history as the story of an unending struggle between different communities would also end. But it appears that according to some Western historians the policy which culminated in the establishment of Pakistan requires a continuing justification.

Introducing the section on 'Islam in Medieval India' in the Columbia University publication, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Dr. Peter Hardy of London explains his standpoint thus:

"....neither educated Muslims nor educated Hindus accepted cultural coexistence as a natural prelude to cultural assimilation. Thus long before British rule and long before modern political notions of Muslim nationhood, the consensus of the Muslim community in India had rejected the electicism of Akbar and Dara Shikoh for the purified Islamic teachings of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind and Shah Wali-Ullah. Cultural apartheid was the dominant ideal in mediaeval Muslim India, in default of cultural victory."

While emphasising the danger of the influence of a communal outlook, I have no desire to minimise the importance of avoiding other prejudices. If any scholar were to deny the significance of the role of religious conflict altogether, he would be equally guilty of distorting history. Similarly, scholars have to be on their guard against the uncritical acceptance of other 'ready made' theories, such as the mechanical application of the materialist interpretation of history, or the tendency to apply current norms to judge the trends of an earlier period. Hasty generalisations on the basis of inadequate data, such as Wittfogel's theory of Oriental despotism, have to be subjected to the scrutiny of historical criticism.

On the basis of our existing knowledge of medieval Indian history it would be premature to try and decide whether religion, or ideas, or relationships of production or any other factor played the *determining* role in the history of the period. The tendency to assume that the main basis of social division, or the *leit-motif* of social action, whether in the field of politics or of culture was religion, can hardly be justified on the basis of the available data. During the medieval period, there were many things which the Hindus, and similarly the Muslims, had in common with their co-religionists in the country. At the same time, common bonds between the members of the two communities belonging to the same region, or to the same class seem to be equally, if not more, powerful. The differences in thought and outlook between Hindus and Muslims belonging to a particular class and region do not seem to be so marked as between the members of the same community belonging to different regions or social background. Religious affinity or antagonism influenced the actions of individuals or groups on some occasions, but in many more cases decisions were influenced by political, economic or other motives and interests.

Thus while recognising the importance of the study of religious factors and regional groupings, a balanced understanding demands the study of Indian society as a whole, giving due weight to the inter-play of all the various factors: political, economic, social, technological, geographical, ethnic, cultural as well as religious.

Since medieval Indian society was mainly agricultural, the foremost need is to study the agrarian relations subsisting therein. Some valuable work has been and is being done in this field at Aligarh and elsewhere but much more detailed research, especially on a regional basis, has yet to be done. The commonly held opinion that there was no substantial change in the nature and extent of agricultural production requires a fuller examination. It is true that there does not seem to be much change in production technique, nor was there an appreciable extension of irrigation works, but the growth in the cultivation of 'cash crops' especially indigo, cotton, sugar cane, and later tobacco, must have affected village economy. Another significant development was the extension of cultivation to many areas which had been covered by forests. This could not have taken place by the individual effort of the peasant: there is some evidence to suggest that it was generally organised by the *zamindars*. Both these factors could have led to changes in the system of agricultural production, but the extent and nature of this change is not yet clear.

Another major development during the medieval period was the growth of the practice of the peasants paying revenue in cash, but neither the extent of the cash nexus nor its economic consequences have been adequately studied. Similar is the case with the question of land tenure. It seems that by and large peasants had acquired alienable rights in land-holding within certain limits, but the question of the relationship of the individual peasant with the village community requires elucidation, as also the question of the rights of the ruling class over the peasant (apart from the right to realise the revenue). The distinction between (*raiyati* and *zamindari* villages, the *de facto* control of state officers over peasants in *zamindari* villages, and the right of the peasant to appeal to government authorities against the decisions of the *zamindars*, are questions requiring careful scrutiny. The role of caste (among Hindus as well as Muslims) in village economy, the position of landless agricultural labourers (including those whose holdings were very small), and the related question of the factors which contributed to migrations from villages to towns when pressure on land was not considerable, have still to be adequately studied. Though problems of the modes of assessment of land revenue, its magnitude and incidence, and the machinery of collection have been analysed to some extent, another aspect requiring attention is the tendency of the tax on agricultural produce to develop into land rent. How far did this change actually take place is not yet clear, but perhaps the concept of *nasaq* and the growth of the *ijara* were bound to lead to this process.

These are only some of the problems of village economy that require the attention of research workers. An understanding of these problems is essential if the history of the overwhelming majority of the common people is to be reconstructed.

No proper study of the agrarian system or of the nature of the State and its polity is possible without an adequate understanding of the position of ruling classes. In medieval India, the ruling classes comprised two main groups: the nobles (*amirs*) and the *zamindars*. The nobles were high officers of state to whom the state's share of land revenue was assigned in lieu of services performed by them. During the Sultanat period they were usually called *muqtis* or *iqtadars*, while under the Mughals, they were the *jagirdars* and *mansabdars*. Though the broad nature of the nobility is known, detailed studies have yet to be made. Some valuable work is being done at Aligarh on the composition, character and political role of the nobility, but a careful study of the working of the *jagirdari* system has still to be undertaken. In many of the monographs and articles formulations regarding the *jagirdari* system have been made which appear to be wide off the mark, even on the basis of the data hitherto available. For example, the administrative duties and functions of the *jagirdars* and the relationship between them and other officers such as *faujdars*, *amins*, *amils*, etc., are frequently misunderstood and their importance underestimated.

The failure of Akbar to pay his officers cash salaries, perhaps inevitable at the time, the payment of the over-whelming majority of *mansabdars* by *jagirs*, the inflation of the nobility and the demand for higher *mansabs* resulting in a shortage of *jagirs*, produced a crisis in the ruling class as well as in the economy of the country. This crisis not only led to a decline of Mughal polity but also intensified bitterness between various social, ethnic, religious and regional groups. The consequences of this crisis were far-reaching for the Mughal Empire as well as for Indian society generally. It is therefore hoped that the scholars would devote their special attention to the study of the institutions of the nobility and *jagirdari*.

The other important element of the ruling class was that of the *zamindars*. Unfortunately little attention has been paid by historians to a systematic study of the nature and character of the institution of *zamindari* or of the role of the *zamindars* in the history of the period. However, even on the basis of the meagre studies on the subject, it would not be unjustifiable to put forward the tentative suggestion that no understanding of medieval politics, or of medieval economy or culture can be considered adequate till questions connected with the *zamindari* system have been properly examined.

I have used the term *zamindar* in the same broad sense in which it was used in Mughal chronicles and documents: viz., all hereditary landed inerests, excluding the peasants. The term was intended to cover a very wide range of landed interests, from ruling princes enjoying independence or autonomy to petty intermediaries. The classification of these rights, acquired in the course of centuries from ancient times and undergoing constant change, has not advanced far beyond the stage when it was first investigated by Grant and others in the last quarter of the 18th century, while the process of this change has hardly received much attention.

It seems that on the eve of the Turkish conquest, the socio-political structure was essentially pyramidical: the Rajput empires and kingdoms exercising varying degrees of overlordship and control over local chiefs, many of whom, perhaps a majority being non-Rajput belonging to indigenous tribes or lower castes. The Turkish rulers overthrew as many of the bigger chiefs as they could, and tried to obtain the recognition of their suzerainty from the rest on varying terms and conditions, the smaller chiefs remaining generally undisturbed. Between the 13th and the 15th centuries, however, there appears to be a wholesale displacement of the local chiefs of the lower castes by the Rajputs. It is unlikely that this process would have taken place without the support or connivance of the authorities of the Sultanat. If this assumption is correct, it would seem that close political and economic links were established between the Sultanat and the Rajput aristocracy. With the break-up of the Tughluq empire, the local Rajput chiefs began to play an increasingly important part in politics. At the same time, attempts were made by the Sultans to curtail the administrative and economic powers of the petty *zamindars*. Nevertheles local administration remained largely vested in *zamindars* of different types.

Akbar gave a new turn to Imperial policy towards the *zamindars*. While ensuring that the ruling chiefs accepted his paramountcy, he initiated the policy of recruiting them to the ranks of the nobility. The large scale influx of hereditary chiefs into the administrative machinery brought about important changes in the nature and character of the state. This policy was continued by his successors, and while it strengthened the state, it also created tensions between nobles who had no hereditary rights and the ruling chiefs who had been included in the nobility.

Though the Mughals continued to base their administration on the *zamindari* system, they sought to increase the hold of the central government over the *zamindars*, achieving a large measure of success. But the opposite tendency was also at work. Many of the chieftains extended their states, hereditary collectors of land revenue tended to become large *zamindars*, the *ijaradars*, the holders of *madad-i-maash* grants and even many of the officials had come to acquire *zamindari* rights. Many documents of sale or purchase of these rights during the 17th and 18th centuries have come to light suggesting transfers of these rights on a large scale. There are also indications that some of those who purchased these rights were traders or businessmen. These changes must have affected village society considerably.

The decline of local autonomy and the establishment of a centralised empire might have stimulated the growth of a money economy and contributed to the rise of a unified market, apart from bringing political and other benefits. On the other hand, the loss of local autonomy had its obvious disadvantages. In any case, since the centralised state based itself on the *zamindari* system, the decline of centralisation was perhaps inevitable. Moreover, the effects which the pyramidical structure had on the life of the common people in the villages are by no means clear. Perhaps the central authority, by placing curbs on the power of the *zamindars*, was able to restrict the exploitation of the peasantry. At the same time, it is also possible that the peasant had to bear the dual burden of the *zamindar* and the *jagirdar*, and thus suffered more. May be that some of the powerful political movements which were led by *zamindars* of various types were able to attract a considerable peasant following for this very reason.

The cultural role of the *zamindars* also requires careful investigation. In view of their close association with the state, they appear to have acted as a link between the cultural traditions of the Courts and the common people. Since many of the *zamindars* served as officials in different parts of the empire, their outlook could not have remained narrowly local or parochial. The development of a composite cultural tradition owed not a little to the *zamindars*. On the other hand, their patronage of local cultural activity seems to have strengthened the traditions of conservatism.

I have taken the liberty of sharing my thoughts with you at some length on the question of agrarian relations to illustrate the point that in spite of the very valuable work that has already been done in medieval Indian history, a great deal remains to be examined before we are able to perceive, even dimly, the outlines of the historical processes of the period. While interpretative works are necessary, and while general histories have to be written re-evaluating our existing knowledge of the subject, with minor changes here and there, the major task before research workers is to concentrate on the investigation of the different aspects of Indian society. Such 'burrowing' expeditions into details are not likely to produce spectacular results, but in this way we will be able to lay the foundations on which the edifice of a scientific history can be raised.

I will not presume to enumerate all the various fields which require urgent study, but I venture to suggest some of the other topics which may be fruitfully examined on a priority basis.

Though some useful work has been done on the pattern of trade and industry during the 17th-18th centuries, adequate study of this aspect for the earlier period has not been made. Unless attention is paid to this problem, it will not be possible to understand why Indian trade and industry could not keep pace with Western European progress, why the growth of a middle class was retarded, why Indian towns could not develop into cities of the Western type, and why in spite of a favourable balance of trade, Indian industry and commerce fell under the domination of the Europeans.

One of the major factors which facilitated European domination was scientific and technological superiority, achieved even before the Industrial Revolution. Though the spirit of scientific enquiry was not wanting in the Mughal empire, and though some advance in technology is noticeable, it is perhaps symbolic of the medieval Indian outlook that neither Akbar nor his successors showed any interest in the two most significant inventions of the Western world: the mechanical clock and the printing press. We must examine the corpus of scientific knowledge and the state of technology during the period in order to study the problem mentioned above. Fortunately work has already been started in the field under the auspices of the National Institute of Sciences.

Although a good deal of valuable research has been done on political history and the administrative institutions of the period, only the outlines have emerged so far. Detailed studies of the internal working of the administrative machinery, together with its tensions and stresses and their impact on policies and problems, have yet to be carried out. These studies will enable us to understand with greater clarity the nature and character of the state and the fundamental problems of its polity.

I have ventured to stress mainly the importance of the study of socio-economic factors and the problems of state and polity. This does not mean that I am under-estimating the importance of cultural movements. Some very useful studies on various aspects of cultural life have been published, but a great deal remains to be done. In this respect, a fruitful line of investigation would be to undertake comparative studies of different cultural trends and to examine their interaction. However, unless cultural phenomena are seen against the social background, the sense of perspective may be lost.

One of the factors which has circumscribed research work so far is the limitation imposed by the nature of the source material. Our studies have been mainly based on the Persian chronicles and the accounts left by foreign travellers. Their value and importance are undeniable, and these will continue to be the principal sources of our information. Nevertheless, their inadequacy is only too evident: the scope of historiography has changed so much since medieval times that it would be unrealistic to expect medieval writers to supply us information on the life of the common people, or to explain in detail the working of administrative institutions, or to provide economic data. Moreover, it is not always easy to judge how far their statements have been coloured by their political, religious or social prejudices, or their sources of reliable information. Furthermore, statements of facts are so deeply inter-mixed with expressions of personal opinion that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Every effort has therefore to be made to supplement the data contained in such works from all other possible sources.

Fortunately, a great mass of documentary material is still extant. The two largest collections of documents of the Mughal period are in the Rajasthan State Archives and the Central Records Office of Hyderabad. A rich collection of administrative documents has recently been acquired by the National Archives of India. The vast volume of the records of the European commercial firms as well as missionary societies, lodged in different places in India and abroad, also contain a wealth of information on the 17th century. These large collections, along with numerous smaller collections, lie scattered in various offices, religious institutions, commercial houses and with private individuals. Only an infinitesimal fraction of these documents have so far been utilised by historians. Even though it is not possible to assess the value of these unexplored sources fully, it is a safe assumption that their proper utilisation will materially alter our understanding of medieval history. May I venture to suggest that a scheme for the handlisting and calendaring of the collections of documents should be sponsored by the Indian History Congress in collaboration with the Union and State Governments, the Universities and Learned Societies ?

Even the utilisation of the documentary material is not likely to provide the historian with adequate data to reconstruct the history of the common people. A new methodology of research has to be evolved to tackle this problem. Bits and pieces of information scattered in innumerable pages of books and documents have to be fitted together to provide an outline of medieval society ; evidence of a later date has to be used judiciously in the process of 'working backwards' ; techniques of sociological and anthropological investigation have to be employed ; and, methods of statistical analysis used where figures are available.

Work on these lines will perhaps be beyond the capacity of most individual workers. Cooperative effort will therefore become more and more necessary. One of the most important methods of achieving this co-operation without in any way circumscribing the historical judgement and imagination of scholars, is to undertake the preparation of works of reference. Biographical and geographical dictionaries, glossaries of terms, bibliographical studies, historical maps, editions, annotations and translations of texts, selections of documents, etc., will considerably facilitate the study of the more complex historical processes.

Lastly, I take the liberty of repeating the obvious requirement of research workers in the field of medieval Indian history, namely, the need for a proper linguistic equipment. It would be unwise for a scholar to depend only on translations, he must have at least a working knowledge of the languages in which the bulk of the source material is to be found.

In the course of this address I may have given the impression that I am critical of the lines on which research has so far been done in the field, or that I am lacking in admiration for the many studies already published. Nothing has been further from my mind. In fact it is only because of the extremely valuable contribution of distinguished historians and of the lines of work indicated by them, that we can aspire to break fresh ground. The eagerness and enthusiasm with which research scholars have been undertaking, since Independence, investigations into diverse spheres of human activity, inspires me to share their anxiety and impatience for taking the study of the subject on a still higher plane. I am grateful to you for having borne with these rambling thoughts with such patience.

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[1] *A History of the Freedom Movement (being the story of Muslim Struggle for the Freedom of Hind-Pakistan), 1707-1947*, Karachi 1957, Vol. I, p. 34.

[2] C. H. Philips (Ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London 1961, pp. 426-27.

[3] Wm. Theodore de Bary (Ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Columbia University Press, New York 1958, p. 370.

KOTERA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHOJADEVA

(Saka Year 1126)

[SUMMARY]

BALCHANDRA JAIN

The plate was found at village Kotera in the Baled tahsil of Durg district of Madhya Pradesh and is now deposited in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur.

The inscription consists of 10 lines. The characters are Nagari and the record is in Sanskrit prose. It is dated in the Saka Samvat 1126 or A.D. 1204 and refers to the reign of Maharanaka Bhojadeva who was hailed as having obtained the five great sounds. The inscription is a business document executed at Valoda, apparently the same as present Balod, and records the lease of a village named Kotela, in favour of a wealthy person, Tama. The village is said to have belonged to four persons (probably brothers) who were paid 600 Achhus (coins) against the leasehold value. These coins had the stamp-mark of a crocodile and were current in the market by the name of Dasarupaka.

The village was leased for twelve years and during that period, all rights concerning the use of water, mango and madhuka trees and the grassland within the boundary limits of the village were to be enjoyed by the leaseholder. The record mentions a number of witnesses for the transaction and also the royal officers who were present on duty when the transaction was made.

ISAMI AS REFLECTED IN HIS FUTUHU-S SALATIN

MEHDI HUSAIN

In 1938 I brought out from London and published Isami's *Futuhu's-Salatin* (Agra edition) with the sub-title of *Shah Nama* of medieval India. While I have no reason to' suggest a modification of the appreciation that I gave then, I feel an urge now to give a recension and a commentary.

The Agra edition of the *Futuhu's-Salatin* was the result of my study of one manuscript, namely the India Office manuscript No. 3089. Later I studied the Hyderabad manuscript also and collated it with the Agra edition and the India Office manuscript. Then I produced an English translation of the second text.

It should be noted that the India Office MS. gives II, 525 verses while the Hyderabad MS. has II, 693. Since Isami had composed 12,000 verses, some 307 verses are lost.

The Futuhu's-Salatin was composed during the life time of Emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq and dedicated to Sultan Alau'ddin Hasan the first king and founder of the Bahmani dynasty. Alau'ddin Hasan was a rebel against and an enemy of Muhammad bin Tughluq—a fact which throws light on the objective of the *Futuhu's-Salatin.*

Isami was dragged with his grandfather Izzu'uddin Isami from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1327 under the orders of the emperor. He remained there for the next twenty-four years. By 1349/748 he was so much weighed down with grief that he resolved to leave India, his motherland, for Mecca. But he resolved to leave behind a souvenir because he was a bachelor and had decided not to marry. That souvenir was the *Futuhu's-Salatin* which he began on 10th December 1349/27th Ramzan 750 and completed in five months on 14th May 1350/6th Rabi I, 751. In good many verses Isami explains how he obtained the patronage of Sultan Alau'ddin Bahman Shah. Isami praised him as the saviour of Islam. He claimed to have possessed true information and data of history about Muhammad bin Tughluq who was a *kafir*.

When studied side by side with the *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta, the *Futuhu's-Salatin* enables us to discover in part the sources of information utilized by the Moorish traveller. It reveals the latter's bias against the emperor and informs us that the *Qazis* of the empire had declared war on him and had approved of his execution.

Both Isami and Ibn Battuta have drawn upon the aggrieved *ulama* and *Mashaikh* and have incorporated their stories from hearsay. Their narratives describing the destruction and devastation of Delhi and the emperor's war with the *ulama* and their bloodshed are not free from exaggeration and even misrepresentation. Since *qazis* and even *khatibs* and others belonging to the *ulama* class, particularly the jurists—the *fuqaha*, the *muftis*, and *sulaha*—are known to have revolted against the emperor and to have been executed, Isami's statement that "*qazis* of the empire had declared war on him" is not wide of the mark. It is borne out, though indirectly, by the *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta.

The discovery of the *Futuhu's-Salatin* has made easier to understand the cause and source of the charges levelled by Ibn Battuta at the Sultan—for instance the plot Sultan Muhammad, then known as Ulugh Khan, is said to have formed with Ahmad bin Aiyaz to murder his royal father, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. *The Futuhu's-Salatin* gives practically the same tale as is found in the *Rehla*. Again, the story of the inhuman treatment meted out by the Sultan to Bahau'ddin Gurshasp as related in the *Rehla* is found with minor differences in the *Futuhu's-Salatin*. Both tell us, unlike all other chroniclers, that the flesh of Bahau'ddin Gurshasp was cooked with rice and given to an elephant or elephants. Both tell us similar stories about the forced exile of the inhabitants of Delhi.

Whatever Barani and Ibn Battuta had said regarding the emperor's slaughter of the orthodox Musalmans and *ulama* was insufficient. But the abundant information that Isami has given to this effect has removed all doubts about the emperor's war with the *ulama* and its consequences. One obvious reaction of this war was that a number of stories were concocted to slander Muhammad bin Tughluk for all times. One of these was his efforts to murder his own father. Nothing can be far from truth. Another was the devastation of Delhi—which is really a lie of the first water. It is very strange that no other chronicler has said a word regarding the flesh of Bahau'ddin being cooked and placed before elephants.

Isami calls Sultan Muhammad bad names and denounces him as a hypocrite. He says that Muhammad, while pretending to mourn the loss of his father, really rejoiced at heart. Then Isami states under a heading—Delusion practised by Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq Shah on the *Khalq* of Hindustan—that on his accession Muhammad made lavish promises to the people, to give them sound and sympathetic administration and captivated their hearts by profuse largesses. Before long, his character almost completely changed and he became distrustful and oppressive. It was on account of this that Bahau'ddin Gurshasp, the governor of Sagar, revolted. However, Isami makes it clear that the oppressive measures adopted by the Sultan were mainly directed against the *ulama* and the like (*ashab-i-din*), the Hindus being exempted.

Such was the object of the forced migration from Delhi to Daulatabad as well as of the token currency. Occasionally he speaks of universal destruction, but his language is not free from exaggeration. One day, he tells us, the Sultan rode up to the gardens along the banks of the Jamuna and found the streets thronged with vendors and customers. He was so annoyed to see the prosperous condition of the town and the general affluence that he resolved to destroy it. With this object in view, he sent the Qarachil expedition. Another measure which he later adopted for the destruction of the people was to order the evacuation of Deogir. All its inhabitants were consequently sent off to Delhi. Finally, under a heading 'Applause for Sultan Alau'ddin Khalji and censures for Muhammad Shah', Isami vehemently denounces the latter for his revolt against Islam.

In fact, Isami had abused Sultan Muhammad scurrilously, denouncing him as a cheat, a schemer, a traitor, a liar, a destroyer, a tyrant, a *Zahhak* and a *Yazid*. If he had intended to write a satire of Sultan Muhammad on the lines of Firdausi's satire of Sultan Mahmud then he certainly exceeded all limits. Although Firdausi had depicted Sultan Mahmud as mean on various grounds including religion, he never called for a crusade against him and never thought of setting in motion against him the machinery of the Shari'at and the State—the *ulama, muftis, qazis, malik* and *amirs,* Isami did all this. Although he did not believe that Sultan Muhammad was a parricide and had no complaint against him on that ground, he hated him for shedding the blood of the *ulama* and their adherents. He also hated him for his kindness towards the Hindus. He hated him also for his revolt against Islam. In the above quotation—Delusion practised by Sultan bin Muhammad Shah on the *Khalq* of Hindustan, the term *khalq* must not be translated as people. *Khalq* here means army. Otherwise *khalq* is used to denote the Musalmans, not the Hindus. *Khalq* like the term *an-nas* in the *Rehla* has not been used in general for the people but almost always in a special sense. Then Isami's wording—before long the Sultan's disposition changed and he became distrustful and oppressive—does not mean that the emperor was transformed overnight into a butcher or into a blood-sucker of all the Musalmans and Hindus. What really happened may be explained in the light of Barani's narrative emphasizing the training the emperor had received, even before his accession to the throne, in the school of anti-Islamic philosophy under the influence of rank atheists and disbelievers. Some time after his accession to the throne, he refused to accept anything that did not agree with philosophy, and faith in the fundamentals of Islam was shaken. Then followed his war with the Muslim orthodoxy and its custodians. This stage or phase in his life and reign Isami has depicted in his own way in the above narrative. This certainly led to Bahau'ddin Gurshasp's rebellion which had a terrible reaction on the military aristocracy and nobility. Potentially there began a civil war, the scenes of which Isami has described by emphasizing universal destruction and chaos. Since the *ulama* had a strong hold over the military, they revolted. The emperor's harshness *vis-a-vis* the rebellious military is expressed by Isami in his own poetic language in the above narrative to the effect that the Qarachil expedition was sent with the object of destroying the people and that forced emigration from Deogir to Delhi was ordered with the object. By 1337/738 the emperor had given up his resolve of making Daulatabad his second capital, and on his return from Sargadwari in 1341/742 he recalled Qutlugh Khan from Daulatabad to Delhi. On account of the new Deccan policy he now formulated, he found it of no use to keep forcibly in the Deccan those Muslims who had been sent out previously under state orders. So he gave them a choice to return if they wanted. There was no compulsion and many preferred to remain there.

Isami's Futuhu's-Salatin does not give a correct picture of the reign of Sultan Muhammad ; nor does it give in a chronological or serial order the events of his reign. But it presents the other reigns in better light. It also throws light on the beginnings of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan.

This needs no commentary. The information given by Isami in regard to other reigns may be relied upon; but regarding the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, neither his treatment, arrangement and adjustment of events and details—nor even the information he obtained and imparts, can be taken as entirely true. Sometimes it will have to be reversed to yield the correct aspect.

For the rest, the *Futuhu's-Salatin* further illustrates the personal history of its author, the military history of the period—the punishments then usually inflicted and the accoutrements and weapons then used. Indirectly, it also throws light on the social history of the period.

MUGHAL-AFGHAN RELATIONS, 1559-1574

IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN

The first round of struggle between the Mughals and Afghans was over in 1559 when the latter were ousted from Jaunpur. Subsequently the Afghans gave up all hopes of re-establishing their rule over the whole of India and concentrated upon preserving their hold over Bihar and Bengal. During this time, the leadership of the Afghans gradually passed into the hands of the Afghan Chiefs of Bengal and Bihar who unlike the Sur princes, did not possess an all-India outlook. It was in this respect that Sulaiman Kararani was different from Sher Shah. Although, like Sher Shah, Sulaiman was able to rally under his banner the entire Afghan population of the East, possessed enormous military resources and was an excellent commander and statesman, yet his outlook was narrow and regional. He was never able to fully appreciate the grim reality that the Afghan power in India could exist only in the form of an all-India empire. It is not an accident that throughout the period of his reign and that of his son, Daud, the Afghans made no attempt to seek allies in Gujarat or to co-ordinate their moves with the anti-Mughal elements elsewhere. Their efforts were mainly directed towards preventing the Mughals from consolidating their position in Jaunpur and building up their own strength in Bengal and Bihar. This was, however, not sufficient even to achieve the limited aim that the Afghans had before them. For the fact that the Afghans were able to save their skin upto 1574, credit goes to the extremely shrewd and able handling of the situation on the part of Sulaiman Kararani and Lodi Khan; and partly it could be possible due to the reluctance of the Mughals to advance into Bihar before they were able to consolidate their position in Jaunpur.

An important factor that influenced the final outcome of the struggle between the Mughals and the Afghans between 1559 and 1574 was the attitude of the *zamindars* who controlled the border regions. Apparently, the Mughals fully realised the importance of the role of the *zamindars*. Before resuming their advance east-ward in 1574, the Mughals ensured the support and co-operation of *zamindars* of not only the border region but even those of the interior of Bihar. The co-operation that Munim Khan received from the local chiefs of Bihar and Bengal, when he invaded that region, goes to support the above contention. On the other hand, it appears that the Afghans did not have a clear cut policy in this regard. They did not make any notable attempt to befriend the local chiefs. During the Mughal invasion of Bengal in 1574, the local chiefs remained either indifferent or extended their co-operation to the invading army, the Raja of Konch being the sole exception in this respect. This brings into broad relief a very serious flaw in the policy of the Afghans. They even failed to make best of the few strategical advantages that a really separatist and regional movement offered, apparently, due to their narrow tribal outlook.

One of the remarkable aspects of the Mughal-Afghan relations between 1559 and 1574 was the cautious and extremely flexible attitude of the Mughals. The Mughals had learnt a good deal from the experience of Humayun's expedition to Bengal in 1538-39. One of the greatest disadvantages from which Humayun suffered was the weakness of his hold over the region which now constitutes the eastern U.P. It was due to the overthrow of the Mughal authority in this region in 1539 that Humayun was cut off in Bengal and was, ultimately, defeated by Sher Shah at Chausa. The moral of that episode was not lost upon the Mughals. Between 1567 and 1572 they made concerted efforts to strengthen their control over the eastern parts of the empire. It is significant that between 1567 and 1572 six bridges were built in the eastern province connecting important places in that region with each other. The building of so many bridges in one region within the short span of five years can hardly be regarded as a normal phenomena in those days. It can be explained only in terms of Mughal preparations spread over several years to invade Bengal. The proposal to invade Bengal came up for the consideration of the emperor for the first time in March, 1572 when the last of these bridges was already complete. Before 1572 the Mughals carefully avoided precipitating a large scale conflict with the Afghans. Due to this policy of the Mughals, even Sulaiman Kararani was lulled into a belief, for sometime, that the kingdom of Bengal would be allowed to exist by the Mughals if no provocation was given to them. Thus he lost an opportunity when he could harass the Mughals to the maximum. The daring invasion of Jaunpur in March, 1573 by the Afghans came too late. It only betrayed the desperation and helplessness of the Afghan power against the insurmountable force of circumstances, fast bringing its end nearer. By the middle of 1573 it was clear to everybody that the Mughal forces would start moving towards Patna as soon as Akbar returned from Gujarat and there would remain no doubt that the impending round of the struggle between the two powers would result in a complete victory for the imperial arms.

TRADITION AND GENEALOGY OF THE UJJAINIYAS IN BIHAR

BRAHMADEVA PRASAD AMBASHTHYA

This document which is in Hindi has been presented to the Khudabakhsh Library at Patna by Shri V. S. Shrivastava on 29.6.1950. The author of the document is Bodhraj who belonged to Pugal in Bikaner State. Bodhraj was contemporary of Muta Nain Sinh, the author of the famous Kheyat, and the Prime-minister of Jodhpur in the second-half of the 17th century. He gathered materials for constituting the history of the Paramaras of nineteen states, viz., Abu, Chandravati, Datta, Santrampore, Rewars of Gujrat and Mewar, the Paramaras of Muli, Bijollia, Srinagar, and Bhojpore, and devoted full 37 years of his precious life in collecting them. In course of making searches for the raw-materials of the history of the Paramaras he had to visit different places and it was in this connection that he paid his visit to Jagdishpur which is in Shahabad district of Bihar and where he stayed for six months in 1719 Samvat.

Despite the fact that the document under study has been utilised by Professor Syed Hasan Askari while writing an article on the Ujjainiya ancestors of Babu Kuer Singh, it deserves to be critically edited and translated in all its entirety in view of the new light that it throws on the early relationship of the Ujjainiyas of Bhojpur, situated in Shahabad district in Bihar, with Sher Khan Sur of Sassaram at a time when the latter had been undergoing the varying vicissitudes of fortune in Bihar in the days of his pre-imperial glory. The document deserves special notice in as much as it throws detailed light on the military positions and situations of the contending forces engaged in the fight on the plains of Surajgarha, the contest being confined between Sher Khan Sur on the one hand and the Bengal forces led by Ibrahim Khan on the other which had been espousing the cause of Sultan Jalaluddin Nuhani, the grandson of Darya Khan Nuhani of Bihar. The battle of Surajgarha which represents an important mile-stone in the career of the rise and growth of Sher Khan's ascendancy to power, and which has been rightly described by Dr. Qanungo in his monograph on "Sher Shah" as "one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India" was, according to him, fought in 1534 A.D. This battle possesses an added importance of its own in reconstructing the regional history of Bihar. The Afghan historians, viz., Abbas Sarwani, Niamatullah, Abdullah, Ahmad Yadgar and the Mughal historians like Nizamuddin and others have described alike this important fight at Surajgarha in some details. But their accounts are not wholly complete and accurate and it is only by taking them into account in conjunction with those recorded in the Hindi document under study that one can form a reliably correct picture of the battle of Surajgarha. Then again the document under study is a very important and original historical record which gives a connected and succinct account of the ancestors of the Ujjainiyas of Shahabad in Bihar, tracing back their descent directly to the famous Raja Bhoj of Dhar in Malwa and Chronicles about their arrival in Bihar and their earliest settlement here which, on the basis of it, can be put in between 1366 to 1380 Vikram Samvat. It gives since then a detailed account of the Ujjainiyas of Shahabad in Bihar and comes down to 1633 Vikram Samvat, covering a period of nearly 270 years. It enlivens us with many new information relating to the important role that the Ujjainiyas of Shahabad had played in the regional history of Bihar in times of the Sharqis of Jaunpur, the Imperial Lodis and the first two Moghul emperors, namely Babar and Humayun.

I now proceed to give below an English translation of this Hindi document along with its exhaustive foot-notes. Since the document under study is a large one, and as there is space-limitation of certain Pages for each article as prescribed by the Indian History Congress, I propose to give a complete English version of this Hindi document with its foot-notes in two instalments, the first one being submitted before the ensuing twenty-fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, 1961, whereas its second instalment which would contain several diagrams, illustrating the different phases of the battle of Surajagarha (1534 A.D.), would I hope, be submitted before the 25th Session of the Indian History Congress in 1962 Session.

1. "Bhoj Deva was succeeded by his son Jai Singh on the throne of Dhar. The enemies having turned him (Jai Singh) out, established their hold on Malwa. Udaiyaditya, however, freed Malwa. His eldest son Jagdeva left Dhar and went to Gujerat where he founded a Kingdom at Baglana. Lakshmi Deva (the second son of Udaiyaditya) ascended the throne at Dhar. He was succeeded at Dhar by Nardeva. Nardeva was succeeded by Jasdeva and Jasdeva was succeeded by Hardeva."

2. "Hardeva had three queens. The first was known as Sita, the second was Kamla, and the third was Ganga. Devaraj, the son of Sita, and Somraj, the son of Kamla, left Dhar and founded a Kingdom at Rajsena. Udairaj, the son of the queen Ganga, ascended the throne at Dhar. His minister got him (Udairaj) drowned in Narmada and he himself sat on the throne. Devaraj, having left the Kingdom of Raisin to Somraj, came to Dhar."

3. "Jairaj, on the death of his eldest son Ajairaj who was killed, gave the throne (of Dhar) to his second son Mulkraj, while he himself took to the life of renunciation".

4. "Ajairaj was killed while he was engaged in defending Mahakal".

5. "Mulkraj was killed at the hands of the Yavanas (Musulmans) in 1365 Samvat".

6. Bhojraj, having taken shelter in the mountains, carried on the fight for some length of time. When he could not free Dhar (from the clutches of the Musulmans), he, along with his son Devraj (II) and accompanied by his Rajput followers, left his homeland in search of seeking his asylum elsewhere. He led a life of roaming for a considerably long period till ultimately he received shelter with Mukund, the Chero king of Kikat. The Chero King, having extended shelter to him (Bhojraj) and to his son and his Rajput followers gave the lands of the Gangetic valley as Jagirs to them. Bhojraj and his Rajput followers came to be known as Ujjain (iyas) after the name of Ujjain (from where they had come). After sometime Mukund met with his death at the hands of the Yavanas (i.e., Musulmans). He was succeeded by his son, namely, Sahasbal. He was habituated to taking drinks and drugs, was very cruel-hearted and was passionately fond of women. As soon as he ascended the throne, he began to persecute his subjects, robbed them of their wealth, and forcibly laid hands on their wives and daughters and defiled them. He sought the hands of the Ujjainiya Princess. Bhoj(-raj) refused to give Ujjainiya princess to him. (Sahasbal came to seize the princess forcibly. Bhojraj fell fighting with the Cheros, while safeguarding the honour and prestige of the family. Devaraj (II), after consulting his Rajput followers,

invited Sahasbal to come for marriage. Sahasbal along with his followers went to the house of Devaraj (II). The Ujjainiyas welcomed them and intoxicated them with drinks and drugs. When Sahasbal and his followers came under the influence of intoxication, Devaraj (II) slew them with swords in 1380 Samvat, thus avenging the death of his father, and laid the foundation of a village which came to be known as Bhojpur. His Ujjainiya followers gave him (Devaraj II) the title of Santan Singh. With the passage of time, his Kingdom and territory came to be known as Bhojpur."

7. Devaraj (II) was succeeded by his son Somraj in the Kingdom of Bhojpur in 1400 Samvat. He died in 1445 Samvat, leaving behind his three sons, namely, Harraj, Gajraj, and Jagdeva.

8. "It was in the time of Harraj that the forces of Khawja Sarwar, while proceeding from Jaunpur to Bihar, crossed the ferry at Chausa and halted at Buxar in 1450 Samvat. Some of these horsemen, while taking a stroll, came to the bank of the Ganges. On seeing the Brahmins performing their Sandhyas and offering the light there, these horsemen began to interfere with them. When the Brahmins remonstrated, they got into trouble with them. After exchange of hot abuses, the fight ensued. At that very moment the Rajput followers of Maharaja Kumar Gajraj (39) happened to pass by and they at once fell upon the Yavana (Muslim) soldiers. On receipt of this news, their compatriots i.e., other Muslim soldiers, launched an attack on the Ujjainiyas in general and a fight commenced. In the meanwhile Maharaj Kumar Gajraj, on the receipt of the news of the flare-up of troubles between the Yavanas (i.e., Muslims) and his Rajputs, came to the aid of the latter. Many of the Yavana (otushin) soldiers were killed and the rest fled away to Jaunpur. On the receipt of the news about the massacre of his soldiers at the hands of the Ujjainiyas, Khawja Sarwar launched attacks on Bhojpur. Maharaja Harraj fell fighting. The Ujjainiyas, took the wounded Maharaja Kumar Gajraj, Devaraj, and other members of the royal family and fled away. The Yavana (Muslim) soldiers entered the city (of Bhojpur) and began to plunder it. They demolished the temples, burnt the palace and thus destroyed Bhojpur".

9. "The Ujjainiyas came out of Bhojpur and put Maharaja Kumar Gajraj on the throne. They took shelter in deep forest and mountains and continued their fight against the Yavanas (Musulmans). They came out of the hills from time to time, swooped upon the Yavanas, and after putting them to pillage and plunder, retired into their dens. The fight continued for years together, but Khawja Sarwar failed to subjugate the Ujjainiyas. In 1456 Samvat Khawja Sarwar died. The Ujjainiyas came out of the mountains and forest and took up their abode at Karoor. After ruling peacefully for 14 years, Gajraj died in 1470 Samvat".

10. "Since Maharaja Gajraj had no son, he was succeeded by his youngest brother, namely, Jagdeva. In 1473 Samvat, Ibrahim Shah

being dissatisfied, sent a force to Karoor. Jagdeva left Karoor and began to pillage and plunder. He died in 1480 Samvat.

11. "Sangram Deva ascended the gaddi of Bhojpur in 1480 Samvat. His coronation was solemnised in the defiles of the mountains. At the time of his accession he took a vow to wage war against Ibrahim Shah in order to free Bhojpur. The Ujjainiyas also promised to carry on the fight till the last drop of their blood and so long as their hands were fit enough to wield the sword. For full twelve years Sangram Deva continued the fight against Ibrahim Shah. The fight continued uninterrupted for days and nights at different places. At last Ibrahim Shah died and with his death the Yavanas (Musulmans) left Bhojpur and took to their heels. Sangram came out of the forest and mountains, established his hold over Bhojpur and took up his abode at Deya. He died in 1510 Samvat".

12. "Sangram was succeeded by his eldest son, namely, Ishwari Singh. He had already been noted for his pleasure-seeking habits in the life time of his father. On his accession to the Gaddi, he threw the affairs of the realm to the wind and began to pass his life in ease and comfort. On the receipt of the information about his being engrossed in pleasure, Mahmud Shah launched an attack on Deya in 1511 Samvat. As soon as Ishwari Singh came to know of the arrival of the Yavan (Muslim) forces, he left the palace and fled into the forest. The Yavanas (Musulmans) established their hold on Deya. He (Ishwari Singh) met with his death at the hands of the Yavanas during his wilderness in the forest in 1512 Samvat".

13. "After the flight of Ishwari Singh into the forest, the Ujjainiyas under the leadership of Onkar Deva carried on their fight against the Yavanas (Musulmans). When Ishwari Singh was killed, they put Onkar Deva on the throne and continued the fight. With the death of Mahmud Shah in 1513 Samvat, the Yavanas (Muslim) soldiers retired from Bhojpur as it had become intolerable for them to put up with the constant depredations and warfare of the Ujjainiyas. Onkar Deva established his hold on Bhojpur which had been vacated by the Yavanas (Musulmans) and took up his abode at Bihta. At that time Hussani Shah was engaged in fight with Delhi Sultan. Hence he could not subjugate the Ujjainiyas of Bhojpur. After a protracted fight lasting for 26 years, Bahlol Lodi (1451-1488 A.D.) annexed Jaunpur and the regions as far as Benares in the east to his empire in 1533 Samvat. As soon as he proceeded further eastwards, he had to encounter with the Ujjainiyas. Bahlol did not advance further and returned. Onkar Deva died in 1545 Samvat, after ruling for 32 years".

14. "Durlabh Deva ascended the Gaddi of Bhojpur in 1545 Samvat. Sometime after, the (Lodi) Sultan appointed Jamal Khan as the governor of Jaunpur. Jamal, after establishing his hold on Jaunpur, sent forces to Bihar. As soon as the forces reached Bhojpur, they had

to encounter with the Ujjainiyas. Durlabh Deva, after meeting with reverses and defeat, fled to the Jungles. Jamal, after establishing his hold on Bihar, appointed Hasan Khan as his deputy there and gave him Sasaram as his Jagir. Hasan Khan, far from fighting with the Ujjainiyas, befriended them. Durlabh Deva accepted the suzerainty of Hasan Khan and began to rule over Bhojpur."

OTTOMAN-MUGHUL RELATIONS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SH. ABDUR RASHID

With the establishment of the Bahmanid kingdom in Southern India in the Fourteenth Century, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope Route in 1498 and the appearance of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks in 1516-17, the founding of the Saffawide Empire in Persia and the Mughul Empire in India, the isolation in which India had stood so far was broken and active political, economic and cultural contacts were established between the latter and the European and Asiatic people.

According to the Ottoman historian Ferdi, the first reference to the Mughuls in Ottoman sources refers to the appearance of one Burhan who is spoken of as the son of Sultan Sikandar, presumably Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) who sought refuge at the court of Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent, in 1536. There is no evidence in Indian accounts of any of Sikandar's sons by the name of Burhan seeking asylum at the Ottoman court after "being ruined by the invasion of the Chughtai armies." None of the Afghan princes of Delhi bore this name which was unfamiliar in northern India. This might refer to Sikandar of Gujarat who ruled for little more than two months and was assassinated in 1526, the year when the Mughuls defeated the Afghans at the battle of Panipat. Burhan may have been one of the numerous princes who were driven out of Gujarat by Humayun when he conquered the country in 1535. The appearance of Burhan at the Sublime Porte is mentioned along with the arrival of an embassy from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat who fleeing before the Mughuls had sent his family and treasures to Medine consisting of three hundred iron chests. An ambassador was deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Turkish Sultan against Humayun, Bahadur Shah promising to pay six hundred thousand crowns for military assistance to Sulaiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). The ambassador carried rich presents consisting among other things of "a girdle valued at sixty crores of ducats". As Bahadur Shah died soon after (1537) the treasures consisting of three hundred iron chests were ordered to be sent to the Sultan by Sulaiman Pasha of Egypt. At one time Sulaiman ordered the family of Bahadur to be put under duress and relieve them of their wealth. As a result of a representation made by Asaf Khan the order was withdrawn.

Sulaiman was anxious to extend his Empire and secure the control of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf which soon brought the Ottomans in conflict on one side with the Portuguese and on the other with the Persians. The Sultan was aware of the fact that his great rivals in the mastery of the seas were the Portuguese. Powerful cannons were cast in Egypt and a grand fleet fitted out. Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim was appointed to lead the expedition against the Portuguese in 1538 in collaboration with the Gujaratis.[1]. The expedition was a failure like the earlier one in 1508 sent by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt under their admiral Amir Husain. The only reminder of this abortive expedition are the two magnificent guns which were carried to Junagadh by Mujahid Khan and are still to be seen there. "They give us an idea of the efficiency attained by the Turkish artillery experts in this important branch of military equipment at a period when Turkey was perhaps the first military power in Europe".[2]

Several years after, one naval officer Sayyid Ali Katibi[3] who having been shipwrecked went to Constantinople by the overland route. He delivered certain letters with which he had been entrusted with by some Indian princes. One of these letters is reported to have been sent by the Mughul Emperor Akbar in 1556[4] who addressed the Sultan as "Khalipha on earth, a Refuge of the princes of the time", and stated that "although hitherto correspondence and mutual communications . . . have not existed, yet the most excellent qualities and exalted virtues (of the Turkish Sultan) have always excited the wish of mutual correspondence." Akbar used the accidental presence of Sayyid Ali at Delhi to link "the chains of friendship and union" and "the ties of friendship", in the hope that there would be similar response from the Sultan and good relations maintained hereafter.[5]

Akbar was too much engrossed, besides numerous domestic problems, with the Saffawids of Persia and the Uzbegs under Abdullah Ḳhan. An attempt made by Abdullah Khan to form a triple alliance against the Persians with the Ottomans was quietly put off though in one of his letters to the Uzbeg chief he expresses his intention of driving away the Portuguese from India and of freeing the Holy Places, evidently from the Ottomans. The Ottoman Sultan seem at first to have regarded the rise of the Mughuls with suspicion. This was reinforced in 1588 when reports were received from Ottoman spies in India that Akbar was conspiring with the Portuguese and planning a naval expedition to strike at the ports of Yemen".[6]

The next important event described in Ottoman records relates to the arrival of Prince Baisanghar at the Sublime Porte. Baisanghar was the son of Danyal, one of Akbar's sons who had drunk himself to death in the Deccan. After the death of Jahangir he joined Shahryar who had proclaimed himself Emperor, against the heir designate Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan). The princes were defeated near Lahore. Baisanghar fled to Badakhshan, and according to Qazwini died there. But an unknown person assumed his name and went to Balkh and finally to Persia where he was well received by the Shah. From there through Baghdad he went to Turkey. He ultimately returned to Thatta where the governor Daulat Khan recognised the impostor, arrested him, and sent him to the court where he was ordered to be put to death, in 1636.[7] According to English Factory Records (May 13, 1631) it was rumoured that the Prince intended invading India with the help of the Ottomans.[8] According to Ottoman accounts Baisanghar, having been coldly received in Persia after his flight from India, appeared at Constantinople before Sultan Murad IV in 1632. His lack of manners and general haughtiness displeased the Sultan. A sum was granted to him which he distributed immediately amongst the attendants at the court to the great annoyance of the Sultan. "He was always followed", writes Naima, "by a servant who carried the hide of a hart and spread it for his master to sit upon. This stupid and uncouth behaviour was the cause ... that the Sultan had no desire whatever to see any more of him".[9] The prince left Turkey in disgust but "some say he turned a Derwesh but it is not known with certainty what became of him". His fate has always been a mystery.

Several embassies were exchanged during the reign of Shah Jahan. The first embassy was sent in 1637. One Mir Zarif[10] Ispahani, an "export dealer in horses", had been sent to Persia for the purchase of horses. The horses that he brought for the royal stables were not liked by the Emperor and he fell out of favour. He was anxious to be restored to favour and requested permission to go to Arabia and Turkey to purchase horses. Afzal Khan was instructed to draft a letter to the Sultan and another to the Grand Vizier of Sultan Murad and despatch it through Mir Zarif. In Jamadi-us-Sani of the tenth Regnal year (1638) Mir Zarif was allowed to depart by sea via Jiddah. After visiting the Holy places he went to Egypt. The governor informed the Sultan who was then engaged in the siege of Baghdad and on receipt of instructions from the latter he was sent to Mosul. Arriving there he delivered Afzal Khan's letter to Muhammad Pasha, the Wazir. On the following day he was presented to the Sultan who received him with kindness and showed due respect to the letter of Shah Jahan and inquired in Turkish about the purpose of this journey. Mir Zarif presented the golden casket containing a waistband which the Sultan considered a good omen engaged as he then was in difficult military operations. On the following day Zarif presented 1000 pieces of cloth on his own behalf. The Sultan inquired as to the defensive armour used by the Mughuls to which he replied that there were numerous kinds of such armour but the most commonly used were *baktar*, (chain-armour) and hazar-mekha' (cuirass) etc. He presented the *baktar* which he had with him. The Sultan showed him all kindness and gave him 20,000 rupees, and promised to send a return embassy after the Baghdad campaign, and establish "bonds of friendship". The Sultan directed him to stay on in Mosul till his return from Baghdad. The Sultan after his return from the campaign against the Persians sent Arsalan Aqa as ambassador to India with an Arab horse "big like a mountain" with a bejewelled saddle and a Turkish *aba* bedecked with emeralds. A horse was given to Zarif and he returned to India via Basra. At Thatta the Governor had been instructed to receive the Turkish ambassador who was given Rs. 10,000. The *Nazim* (Governor) of Thatta, Khwas Khan and Najabat Khan, Governor of Multan, were to spend 6000/- each on the ambassador's entertainment while two officers at Bhakkar and Siwistan were to spend 4000/- each for a similar purpose. Mir Zarif returned to the capital on 29th Zilqad, and received a Khillat, a mansab and the title of Fidai Khan and the office of Akhta-Begi. Arsalan Aga was instructed to proceed to Kashmir.[11]

According to Turkish accounts the Mughul envoy amongst other things had presented a shield made of an elephant's ear covered with the hide of rhinoceros which could not be penetrated by a sword or a musket. The Sultan who was proud of his strength demonstrated it by striking the shield with a javelin which penetrated through it to the humiliation of the envoy. Five hundred ducats were given to him by the Sultan. This is not borne out by Mughul chronicles, according to which the Sultan failed to pierce the shield but gave 500 ducats to the Mughul envoy.[12]

The Turkish Sultan felt offended by the tone of the letter from the Mughul Emperor and its oblique references to the Sultan's military ineffectiveness against the Persians. The text of this letter is not given in Badshahnama, but the letter is preserved in Turkish archives. Shah-Jahan after mentioning the obligations of kings to do justice and put down innovations proceeded to state the purpose of the embassy. "The cause of opening this gate of correspondence" wrote Shah Jahan "is to notify the fresh victories gained in this year (1046) as such glad tidings were bound to delight brethren in faith". Shah Jahan intimates his intention of marching against Qandhar to recover it from Persian "Heretics and innovators" and then liberate Iraq and Baghdad which the Sultan of Turkey had not so far done. Shah Jahan appears to have been anxious to make the Ottoman Sultan cause a diversion so that he might be able to recover Qandhar.[13]

This letter was answered by an equally discourteous letter "deficient in courtesy usually observed in eastern courts towards great monarchs." This letter too is not preserved in Indian archives but an idea of the two letters may be formed from the accounts preserved in Indian and Turkish histories.

Arsalan Aga remained at Agra till the accession of Sultan Murad and was then dismissed "without credentials or presents from Shah Jahan to the new Sultan, but merely with a letter from the Indian Grand Wazir to the Ottoman Sultan of rather an insulting purport".[14] Shah Jahan's Wazir Afzal Khan wrote a letter to Mustapha Pasha intimating that Arsalan Aga had been conducted to the capital "in the most distinguished manner." He then refers to the letter of the Ottoman Sultan in most caustic manner. "When this letter was submitted" wrote he, "for the inspection of the secretaries of state, it appeared that among the servants of your glorious court, and amongst its secretaries, there was no body acquainted with the ceremonials of ancient Sultans, and the modes of cultivating the friendship of great monarchs". The Indian Wazir then refers to the wide extent of the Mughul empire, its wealth and immense resources and the well equipped army strong enough to conquer the world. "It appears," observes the Wazir, "that the Ottoman secretaries were ignorant as to the manner in which such a power should be addressed and what regard should be paid to such a state.[15] Various messages implying friendship, amity and harmony have been entrusted to his (the Envoy's) tongue to be delivered to the royal ear, but for the reason above specified, no royal letters have been written, neither was there an occasion for presents.[16]" He left by way of Surat and reached home.

According to Dow, the envoy was given 12,000 in cash and rich presents for the Sultan.[17] The only presents that were sent consisted of a bottle of Attar of Roses, two carpets and two felts. The Grand Wazir Mustapha's answer to this insulting letter is very remarkable, not only for the apology it contains and for the pride evinced which disdains presents and "prefers to loads of them, friendly expression", but also for the philosophical sentiments expressed therein, that "God keeps no account of the extent of empires, but of the justice with which they are governed by their rulers."

The Ottoman Wazir refers to the services of the Ottoman Sultans, in exalting the victorious standards of Islam, humiliation of the enemies of faith, upholding of divine commands and the laws of the Prophet, and guarding the Holy places. The Wazir deplores the lack of courtesy shown by the Mughul emperor in not condoling on the death of the late Sultan. He assures the Wazir that in the earlier letter there was no intention of slighting the Mughuls and that the unintentional lack of courtesy complained of was no justification "for omitting in your letter the rules" of courtesy to be shown to kings.[18]

The next Turkish envoy to the court of Shah Jahan was Sayyid Muhi-id-Din,[19] who was sent with a letter to the Mughul Emperor on 16th May 1649 to notify the accession of Muhammad IV and to seek support for Nazr Muhammad and bring out a reconciliation between him and his son Abdul Aziz. Sayyid Muhi-id-Din's arrival in 1650 at Surat was reported to the Mughul Emperor, and elaborate arrangements were made to receive him and conduct him to the capital. He was allowed to return in November 1651.

Haji Ahmad Said Mir-i-Adl as a return envoy was sent to the Sublime Porte where he presented himself in July 1654, with a letter and presents consisting of a jewelled aigrette, a jewelled sword and a *pardala* set with purest diamonds. This letter was in reply to the letter sent by the Sultan to Shah Jahan and the latter informed him that the matter relating to Nazr Muhammad had been taken care of. The Mughul envoy Sayyid Ahmad "a man of learning, charm and wit" was well received and distinctions and honours paid to him exceeded those paid to any other ambassador. On his return he was presented with six thousand ducats,[20] a peliss and a richly caparisoned horse. The presents sent to Shah Jahan consisted of an emerald hilted dagger, twenty five maidens and a richly caparisoned horse, the value of whose trappings was estimated at ninety purses. Zulfiqar Agha who is styled by the Turkish amir "Bosnian ass" was chosen to head the return embassy to the court of the Mughul Emperor. The envoy-designate gave a banquet in honour of Sayyid Ahmad where, writes Naima with disgust, one more blunder was committed amongst many others of which the host, "stupid but rich", was guilty. At the banquet boiled cabbages were served which Zulfiqar esteemed as a great dainty. Wishing to impress his guest, he asked him whether there were any cabbages in India. The Sayyid quietly replied that there were fine vegetables in his country but none so cold in nature or so indifferent in taste. When the Indian envoy rose to depart he summed up his impression of Zulfiqar by saying, "Praised be God who has created an ox in the shape of a man". Zulfiqar in his turn expressed himself thus before his friends after the Haji had left. "These Indians" said he, "pride themselves on their spices; but if we did not buy their cloves and cinnamon, to whom could they sell them? Let us show, therefore, our pride in our own national products. The ambassador spoke no doubt in very refined and set terms, but I answered him in plain Turkish".[21]

The Turkish envoy Zulfiqar reached Surat in December 1653. He was received in audience in March 1654. Orders were issued to local officers to accompany the envoy to the capital. All along the way he received lavish gifts and entertainments at Sultanpur, Burhanpore, Ujjain and Agra, the total entertainment money accounting to fifty lakhs of rupees.[22]

He was presented to the Emperor and submitted the presents and a letter from the Sultan. The envoy received a Khilat, a bejewelled dagger and thirty thousand rupees in cash. He was received by Prince Sulaiman Shukoh and Jahan Ara Begum and received gifts from both. The Turkish Sultan referred to the complaints he had received from Nazr Muhammad Khan but expressed satisfaction with Shah Jahan's subsequent conduct. Shah Jahan felt offended at "the patronising tone of Sultan

Muhammad's letter.[23] He gave an indication of this in the letter he sent through Qaim Beg[24] in August 1654.[25] Qaim Beg was the last envoy to be sent to the Sublime Porte by Shah Jahan. The value of presents sent is calculated by Waris at ten lakhs of rupees while the presents and entertainment money given to Zulfiqar cost the Mughuls another 2,75,000.[26] Zulfiqar died on the way back home near Jidda.

Prince Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, is reported, according to Ottoman sources, to have sent a letter to the Turkish Grand Wazir through one Mulla Shaki (Shakir ?). There is no reference to any such letter in the numerous histories written in India during this period. Mulla Shakir was commissioned to report in person to the Grand Wazir who is requested "to listen to what he has to say". The Wazir acknowledged the letter and informed the Prince that the presents for the tombs of Imam Abu Hanifa and Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani had been forwarded to their destination. The Wazir expresses the hope that the friendly correspondence will be continued. No date is given either of Dara's letter or that of the Wazir, but it probobly refers to the period before 1649. This letter can, therefore, have no connection whatsoever, as vaguely hinted by Dr. Bernard Lewis, to the forthcoming war of succession.[27]

Qaim Beg reached Scutari on Friday, May 11, 1656. Four days after he "was introduced to deliver his letters at the footstool of the Imperial throne and his presents which were carried by two hundred and fifty porters". Among the presents was a jewelled sword and a jewel-studded dagger the diamond of which shone in a great blaze[28] The Turkish Sultan appointed Manzada Husain, the son of Fakhir-ud-Din as envoy to Delhi, invested him with a robe of honour and sent presents consisting of a *sarpech* set with emeralds, four horses of the purest breed, three of which were covered with saddle cloth of gold and one with jewelled reins and stirrups, a golden chain and a covering embroidered with pearls. No description of this embassy is preserved in India or Turkish accounts.

After the death of Shah Jahan diplomatic contacts between the Ottoman Sultans and the Mughul Emperors became less frequent and more casual and formal. Both the empires were faced with serious domestic problems, the intransigence of the conquered national groups which had neither been conciliated nor assimilated, and the ever increasing pressure of western imperialism. Though no military or political alliances were effected because of conflict of interests and the distance separating the two empires, cultural and commercial contacts were established. There was at one time a large flourishing community of Indo-Pakistani merchants in Turkey who did not merely confine themselves to trade and commerce but once joined a demonstration by local tradesmen and artisans against some custom duty newly imposed by the Turkish Government. A constant stream of pilgrims went to the Hejjaz and rich and costly donations were sent to the Holy places. The spread of Naqshbandiya—Hujaddidiyya order in Central Asia and Turkey and the growing popularity of the Qadiriyya order in Pakistan during the seventeenth century provided further links between the people of Indo-Pakistan and Turkey. Ottoman poetry according to Gibb was affected by Persian poets and writers of Indo-Pakistan after the sixteenth century. The fame of Mulla Abdul Hakim of Sialkot who flourished during the reign of Shah Jahan reached Turkey during his life-time. The Fatawa-i-Alamgiri was widely used in the Ottoman lands and according to Muradi the Fatawas "become famous in the Hejjaz, Egypt, Syria and Rum" where they were "universally used and formed a source upon which the Muftis drew for their Fatwas."

It will be an extremely fruitful study and equally desirable, for the Turkish and Indian scholars to examine carefully the nature, the content and the extent of cultural contacts between the two peoples. A vast number of documents and historical works are still unexamined and unlisted. It is time we set about studying the history of the peoples rather than merely the history of princes.

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[1] See M. Longworth Dames, "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century" R.A.S.J., London, 1921, pp. 1-29.

[2] Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. 408, Ross, *Arabic Mastery of Gujarat*, p. 267.

[3] For Sayyid Ali Katibi see *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Vol. I.

[4] For Akbar's letter to the Sultan of Turkey, De Hammer, *Memoirs on the Diplomatic Relations between the Courts of Delhi and Constantinople in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, R.A.S., London,Vol. II, see Appendix No. I, p. 476.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 477.

[6] Bernard Lewis, p. 6.

[7] *Lahori Badshahnama*, Vol. I, Book 11, page 206.

[8] *English Factories in India* (1630-33), p. 160.

[9] Hammer, p. 463.

[10] For Mir Zarif, see *Massir-ul Umara*, Vol. III, p. 10-12. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Abdul Hamid, *Badshahnama*, III, p. 92 b; *Amal-i-Salih*, by Muhammad Salih Kamboh, III, 192.

[11] Abdul Hamid Lahor, Badshah Nama, Vol. I, pp. 184-88. For an account of the siege of Baghdad by Sultan Murad, *Ibid.*, p. 188-190.

[12] Massir-ul-Umara, p. 10.12.

[13] Hammer, p. 467-8.

[14] Von Hammer, p. 468.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 480-82.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[17] Dow, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 180.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

[19] Muhammad Waris, *Padshahnama*.

[20] Hammer, p. 484.

[21] Von Hammer, p. 473.

[22] Waris, p. 273.

[23] Benarsi Prasad, *Shah Jahan*, p. 301. Allahabad, 1932.

[24] Waris, *Padshahnama* gives his name as Qasim Beg, a former Kotwal. Waris, p. 276.

[25] Waris, *Padshahnama*, pp. 485-86. Rotograph in A.M.U., Aligarh.

[26] Waris, p. 277.

[27] Bernard Lewis, p. 7.

[28] Hammer, p. 486.

PRINCESS JODHA BAI

V. S. BHARGAVA

[*Summary*]

The Johpur Princess Mani Bai, better known to students of medieval Indian History as Jodha Bai, was married to Akbar's heir apparent, Prince Salim, in the year 1587 A.D. Her son Khurram ascended the throne of Hindustan after the death of his father, the Emperor Jahangir. The so-called Jodha Bai Palace at Fatehpur Sikri was constructed by the Emperor Akbar a couple of years before Jodha Bai's birth. Jodha Bai like her mother-in-law, the Amber Princess Man Mati, mother of Jahangir, did not influence the policies of either Akbar or Jahangir. Hence, this marriage had only political significance. After her marriage the brothers and nephews of Jodha Bai gradually managed to gain the confidence and patronage of contemporary monarchs of Delhi.

CAUSES OF THE RATHOR REBELLION OF 1679

MOHAMMAD ATHAR ALI

Aurangzib's policy towards the Rajputs, especially his handling of the question of succession to the *gaddi* of Marwar after the death of Jaswant Singh (1678), is considerably clouded by controversy. The discrepancies in chronicles about events of the Rathor Rebellion of 1679 have long been the despair of historians and we find important factual gaps in the account given in the monumental *History of Aurangzib* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Fortunately, however, we now have the monthly despatches of the official news-writer of Ajmer,[1] covering precisely this period (1678, 1679, 1680). Written with the object of providing accurate information to the Court, for the entire province of Ajmer, which included all the chief Rajput States, it gives us detailed reports of events, negotiations and other transactions taking place at the time. This enables us to have a pretty clear picture of what actually took place during these critical years, the nature of the policy of Aurangzib, and of the view-points of the several sections of the Rajputs. On the basis of this, we are now enabled to trace in detail, with considerable confidence in for public consumption, but for the knowledge of the Emperor himself), the reliability of our information (for the news-writer was not writing the succession of events following the death of Jaswant Singh and leading to the rebellion of 1679-80.

When Jaswant Singh died in December 1678, he left no son. At the time of his death he was also heavily in debt to the imperial treasury.[2] Iftikhar Khan, the governor of Ajmer reported in Zigad, 1089 A.H. (January, 1679) that the late Raja Jaswant Singh and his forefathers had hoarded a large amount of cash and treasure in the fort of Sawanah.[3] So a search was made for the hidden treasure of the Raja, in order to satisfy government claims, but it yielded nothing.[4] Then an order was issued in Zilhij (February, 1679) that the entire property belonging to the Raja should be escheated.[5] Kesri Sing Mutsaddi along with Raghunath Singh and other Rajputs prepared a list of the entire property belonging to the late Raja and presented it before Iftikhar Khan (Ziqada, January, 1679).[6] Pending his decision about the succession, Aurangzib declared in the same month that the whole of Marwar, including the capital, with the exemption of only two *parganas,* was to be resumed to the *Khalisa,* and royal officials were deputed to take over charge. This aroused the indignation of the Rathors, who declared that if Jodhpur, the seat of their clan and the place where the mourning of the dead king was taking place, was taken into the *Khalisa,* the prestige of the Rathors would be adversely affected. They came to Iftikhar Khan and represented as follows: "During the rule of the Mughal Dynasty, no *Bumi* or *Zamindar* has been turned out of his native place (*Watan*) even on the commission of any specific fault. The Rathors, who have always been loyal and faithful, ask simply that they be not subjected to exile". They were prepared to give over the whole of Marwar, but not the ill-fortified town of Jodhpur.[7] Iftikhar Khan (February, 1679) suggested to the Rajputs that they should accompany him to the court so that their demands might be fulfilled. The Rajputs, however, refused this offer. Iftikhar Khan defended the imperial resumption of Jodhpur to the *Khalisa* on the ground that according to the rules, *watan* could not be conferred upon either a woman or a servant.[8] Aurangzib in the meanwhile had issued another order designed to placate the deceased Raja's officers. All of them were to be left the *pattas* or assignments granted to them by Jaswant Singh, these being formally considered their *jagirs,* so that against these they would receive corresponding *mansabs* from the imperial court.[9] Jaswant Singh's officers declined this offer possibly (for this is not stated) because they thought it would lead to the permanent disruption of the Marwar Kingdom. When pressed by Iftikhar Khan they declared that though they knew they could not resist the imperial army, they had decided to die rather than to submit.[10]

The situation was further complicated when, to the relief of Jaswant Singh's officers, the news arrived in March or April that the two wives of Jaswant Singh had given birth to two sons. This meant that they had now a candidate, in the person of Ajit Singh, one of the posthumous sons, whom they could present for the Marwar throne.

The Emperor too seems to have accepted the genuineness of the two sons (one of whom died shortly after birth) without question. Thus we read in the report that the fort of Pakhran had been conferred on Rawal Amar Singh, but after the birth of Jaswant Singh's posthumous sons, the Rawal was informed (Rabi 1 = May, 1679) that the grant was being revoked, as sons had been born to Jaswant Singh, and the Emperor was favourably disposed towards them.[11]

But soon afterwards, Aurangzib conferred the *tika* on Indar Singh on the payment of 36 lakhs of Rupees as succession fee.[12] The appointment of Indar Singh as Raja of Jodhpur came as a great surprise to the Rathors, and they opposed Indar Singh with full vigour. Uptill now, Aurangzib had not taken any decision about the succession to Marwar throne. It is significant that Jaswant Singh's officers could not suggest any name for the incumbent of the *gaddi,* which meant, as Iftikhar Khan pointed out, they were arguing for the retention of Marwar in the hands of the "Women and servants" of the late Raja, a position that was hardly acceptable in the circumstances of the time. As for Indar Singh, (grandson of Amar Singh, elder brother of Jaswant Singh) he belonged to a line hostile to Jaswant Singh and his followers, and his attempt to secure succession to the Jodhpur *gaddi* was opposed by most of the Rathor leaders.[13]

There was another claimant still in the person of Anup Singh, son of Rao Karan, who had the Rank of 2,500/2000.[14] He offered 45 lakhs of Rupees as succession fee.[15] Anup Singh was a blood relation of Jaswant Singh, but since his relationship to the principal royal line was remote,[16] his claims were not entertained.

When Rani Hadi, the chief queen of Jaswant Singh and other Rajput leaders heard (Jamada 1 = June, 1679) that the *tika* had been conferred on Indar Singh, they sharply protested against it and said it would have been better if the previous order for including Jodhpur into the *Khalisa* would have been maintained rather than that Jodhpur be handed over to Indar Singh.[17]

Already, in Rabi 1 (April, 1679) before Indar Singh had received the *tika,* Tahir Khan, *Qila'adar* of Jodhpur, had suggested to the Rathors that they could please the Emperor by demolishing all the temples within the state and constructing mosques in their place. When the Rajputs heard this, they were very indignant. But when the message was carried to Rani Hadi, Jaswant's chief queen, who was inside the fort as the titular leader of the Rathors, she declared that he (Tahir Khan) could do as he pleased for the good of the Rathors. If Jodhpur was conferred on the sons of the late Raja, the Rajputs undertook to demolish all the temples in the state of Marwar.[18]

That the Rathors' reaction to Aurangzib's decision stemmed solely from a sense of indignation at the appointment of Indar Singh *and not* from the way the Rathors pressed the case for Ajit. We have just seen that they declared that they preferred the *Khalisa* or imperial Administration to Indar Singh. They now proclaimed that if only the *tika* was given to Ajit Singh, they would be more loyal than the king in carrying out Aurangzib's pet projects, the collection of the *Jiziya* and the destruction of temples within Marwar. It may be noted that there is no suggestion anywhere that Indar Singh had given such a pledge to secure the *tika*.

Two months later (Jamada I=June, 1679), when Indar Singh had been appointed Raja, two of the spokesmen of the Rathors, Ram Bhati and Sonak Rathor went to Qazi Hamid of Jodhpur and represented as follows:

> "the *Zamindari* of the country of Marwar was the property of Raja Jaswant Singh and after his death by the law of inheritance the *Zamindari* of the country devolves on his sons. In the presence of the sons of the late Jaswant Singh, Indar Singh had no right to succeed. If the *Watan* and the *Zamindari* was conferred on the sons of the deceased Raja, the Rajputs undertook to demolish all the temples of Jodhpur and construct mosques instead. The Rajputs were also prepared to promulgate the law of the Shariat and to carry out the orders of the Emperor to whatever effect. We want to know the law of the Shariat in this case. The Qazi gave them no answer and forwarded the case to Qazi Shaikhul-Islam".[19]

Tahir Khan also reported in the same month to the Emperor that the Rajputs were prepared to demolish all the temples within the Jodhpur State, to promulgate Islam and to offer a bigger *Peshkash* than that offered by Indar Singh, if the latter's appointment as the Raja of Jodhpur was cancelled.[20] The imperial Waqai Navis in Jamada I, (June, 1679) reported that "the root cause of the Rajput rebellion is Indar Singh because he is intensely unpopular in Marwar and no one likes him. The Rajputs would be agreeable and pleased if Jodhpur is included in the *Khalisa* permanently".[21] The next month Ram Bhati and Sonak Rathor entered an exactly similar plea with Tahir Khan.[22]

When the Rajputs failed in their attempt to get the appointment of Indar Singh cancelled, they asked Tahir Khan in Jamada II (July, 1679) to leave Jodhpur because they had decided to oppose Indar Singh and offer him battle.[23] Chauhar Mal, the *Mutasaddi* of Indar Singh, could not enter Jodhpur owing to the opposition of the Rajputs.[24]

This was a prelude to the Rebellion. The flight of Ajit from the court arranged by Durga Das, followed. Aurangzib's acceptance of a false Ajit as the true one, and his firm refusal to recognise the genuineness of the real Ajit barred the way to any compromise. The news-reporter of Ajmer reported a conversation between Sujan Singh Rathor and Padshah Quli Khan, in which the former, protesting his loyalty to the Emperor asserted the genuineness of the real Ajit and said that Durga

Das, Sonak and other Rathors were fighting only for the sake of Ajit and they would not otherwise have been able to resist Raja Indar Singh.[25] When this report was presented to Aurangzeb, he gravely censured the news-reporter for giving credence to such statements.[26]

The *Waqai Ajmer* thus presents us with a mass of new information which enables us to re-interpret the events leading to the Rajput War. It seems to me that the basic assumptions postulated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar to explain the causes of the war cannot be easily accepted in the light of this information. Sarkar assumes, in the first place, that though Jaswant Singh had no son, Aurangzib could have immediately appointed Indar Singh, "a loyal grandee", and his failure to do so suggests that he wanted to destroy the Marwar Kingdom.[27] But we have seen, that if Indar Singh was not appointed for five months, it was solely because he was not acceptable to the Rathors, who throughout expressed their hostility to him in no uncertain terms.

The second assumption put forward by Sarkar is that Aurangzib wanted to make Jaswant's state "a quiescent dependency" or "a regular province of the Empire, for Hindu resistance to the policy of religious persecution must be deprived of a possible efficient head".[28] But again, we see that if this was Aurangzib's real objective, this could have been secured best by accepting Ajit. His partisans were ready to destroy temples and enforce the Shariat—things for which Indar Singh never gave his consent. Moreover, Ajit was a baby at the time, and even if Aurangzib had seen (mistakenly) the marks of future greatness in this baby, it was obvious that simply because of his age, Ajit could not at least for a decade and half have become the "efficient head" of any Hindu resistance.

The only plausible support for Sarkar's argument lies in the delay of five months which Aurangzib allowed before appointing Indar Singh. There is, however, a possible explanation which arises from the *Waqai Ajmer*. The Rathors were opposed to Indar Singh, and their opposition was fortified by the news that two queens of Jaswant were pregnant and might well bear sons. But how could it be known for certain that they could be sons? Aurangzib might have thought that in case the children turned out to be daughters—for which there was, after all, every chance—the whole issue would be simplified, since the Rathors would no longer have any candidate to pit against Indar Singh. In case they turned out to be boys, Aurangzib's task would be no less difficult whether he appointed Indar Singh before or after their birth.

It has also not been appreciated that Aurangzib might have preferred Indar Singh to Ajit for quite the opposite reason than what Sarkar has suggested. There is no reason to believe that Indar Singh was incompetent. In 1678 he was already holding the rank of 1,000/1,000 (700×2—3h) and had served with some distinction in the Deccan.[29] It could be urged that Aurangzib wanted an able officer, not a boy, to head the Marwar state so that peace and order might be maintained in that strategic state (it lay astride the main Agra-Ahmadabad route) and it might continue to supply military contingents to the Mughal armies. It is also to be remembered that Aurangzib was not stepping beyond custom and precedent in overlooking Ajit's claim and selecting Indar Singh. Jahangir had asserted this imperial prerogative in no uncertain terms sixty-five years earlier in the case of Bikaner.[30] Similarly, he had rejected the claims of Man Singh's grandson, Maha Singh, to the Amber throne, despite the fact that Rajput custom had prescribed his succession.[31]

In appraising Aurangzib's policy towards Marwar, we should perhaps guard against the assumption made without much historical basis, that it was a part of his alleged anti-Rajput policy. Aurangzib's first twenty years showed no signs of any hostility towards the Rajputs. On the contrary, they seem to have been the objects of particular imperial attention. In the first two regnal years of Aurangzib's reign, *zat* rank amounting to 14,100, making up 19 per cent of the total additions, were bestowed upon Rajput officers.[32] This should be considered in the light of the fact that in Shahjahan's entire reign, Rajputs comprised only 16 per cent of *mansabdars* holding the ranks of 1,000 and above.[33] Even this does not show the true extent of royal favours bestowed upon Rajputs. There was no Rajput officer throughout the reign of Shahjahan holding the rank of 7,000. Now Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh—latter, depite his *role* at the battle of Dharmat and Khajwah—were promoted to 7,000/7,000 each.[34] The representation of the Rajput *mansabdars* holding the rank of 1,000 and above during the first twenty years of Aurangzib's reign (1658-78) was 14%. This is nearly at par with the proportion of 16% *mansabdars* of the rank of 1,000 and above during Shahjahan's reign.[35]

The rebellion of the Rathors and Sisodias was not really a 'Rajput rebellion' if by that is meant that the majority of the Rajputs were involved in it. The Kachwahas, the Hadas, the Bhatis, the Rathors of Bikaner, all remained loyal to the Mughals.

Yet while most of the Rajputs had not so far been alienated by Aurangzib's policy as to rebel against him, the Rajput rebels too were not completely friendless within the rest of the Mughal nobility. The very fact that Prince Akbar should have staked his fortune and placed himself at the head of the rebels shows that he expected some support from within the nobility. Tahawaur Khan, his main supporter, enjoyed no mean status. In actual fact Bahadur Khan Kokaltash, the leading noble of Aurangzib at the time, was said to have advised Aurangzib that he should recognise Ajit Singh.[36]

On the whole, though one must not be dogmatic, it seems that the origin of the Rebellion of 1679 lay in the clan rivalries and disputes among the Rajputs themselves. As long as the imperial power was strong it would overrule the claims of one clan or party against another without danger of rebellion. Jahangir had done it in the case of the Kachwahas without provoking any armed opposition. Under Aurangzib, however, such an assertion of imperial authority was not quietly accepted, perhaps because the Rathors felt that they could defy imperial government with some chance of survival, if not success. For such an attitude on their part, Aurangzib's involvement in the north-west, and in the Deccan, and the series of internal rebellions starting with the Jats were responsible.

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[1] The original copy of the *Waqai Ajmer* is in the Asifiyah Library, Haiderabad. I have used a transcript from the original in Research Library, Department of History, M. U. Aligarh.

[2] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 277.

[3] *Waqai Ajmer*, p. 74.

[4] *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 172.

[5] *Waqai Ajmer*, pp. 84, 92.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[11] *Waqai Ajmer*, p. 194.

[12] *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 175-76; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 236; *Dilkusha*, f. 76a.

[13] The Rathors represented to Iftikhar Khan that Abdur Rahim should be sent to Jodhpur as *kotwal* and an experienced *karori* should be appointed at Jodhpur and the *tika* should not be conferred on Indar Singh till a son was born to the late Raja Jaswant Singh. (*Waqai Ajmer*, p. 141).

[14] Kamwar, 277b; M.U. II, 289-91.

[15] *Waqai Ajmer*, p. 107.

[16] For the detailed biography of Anup Singh see *Virvinod*, II, 498-500; M.U. II, 289-91.

[17] *Waqai Ajmer*, p. 241.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[19] *Waqai Ajmer*, pp. 245-46.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[25] *Waqai Ajmer*, p. 633.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 645.

[27] *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 369.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[29] "*Selected Documents of Aurangzib's Reign*", p. 121; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 236; After his appointment as Raja of Jodhpur, Indar Singh was promoted to the rank of 3,000/2,000".

[30] Tuzuk, p. 106. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[32,33] See my book, "*The Mughul Nobility under Aurangzib*", (in the press).

[34] For the further elucidation of this point, see my article, "The Religious Issue in the War of Succession 1658-59", Proc. of Ind. History Congress, Aligarh, 1960.

[35] See my book, "*The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzib*" (in the press).

[36] *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 75a-b; *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 168; Tahir Khan was deprived of his *mansab* because he did not try to stop Ajit Singh from entering Jodhpur, Kunwar, f. 266a.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION OF PRINCE MURAD BAKHSH

MD. QUAMRUDDIN

[*Summary*]

In this paper a brief account of Murad Bakhsh's birth and his childhood has been given and some important events of his early life have been described. While discussing his education, mention has also been made of the general system of education prevailing in Mughal India and the emphasis laid by the Emperors on the subjects to be taught to the Princes.

SOME NEWS LETTERS (AKHBARAT) RELATING TO BAHADUR SHAH I

SATISH CHANDRA

The Jaipur Akhbarat are a store-house of information regarding developments at the Mughal Court and in the field of social and economic life and administration. The Akhbarat are unusually complete for the reign of Bahadur Shah I. A large number of them were utilised by the present writer for his book "Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court." However, some fresh Akhbarat relating to the reign of Bahadur Shah have come to my notice recently. I am giving below some relevant extracts from these documents which may be of interest to students of the history of the period. The extracts refer to the year 1709, when Bahadur Shah was in the Deccan in order to fight his rival Kam Bakhsh. Taking advantage of his absence, Ajit Singh and Jai Singh had taken up arms to recover their homelands which had been sequestered by Aurangzib and Bahadur Shah, while the Sikhs had risen up in rebellion in the Punjab under the leadership of Banda. Regarding the Sikh uprising, the agent of Wazir Khan, the faujdar of Sirhind, reported that 70,000 men had gathered at Sadhaura, and hailed sometimes the Guru and sometimes declared that a Saiyid had came in their midst with miraculous beings (*bahmardum* ghaib) and was leading them. They had ravaged the pargana in the doab upto the river (Jamuna), besieged Saharanpur, and killed many persons in a clash near Lahore.[1] The reference to the alleged mysterious appearance of a Saiyid among the Sikhs shows the continued hold of Mahadavite legends among the Muslims, and their refusal to believe that the success of the Sikhs could be explained by purely rational factors. However, a subsequent despatch which reported large-scale Sikh activities in Panipat and Sonepat, pointedly referred to the fact that the zamindars of pargana Samana, Kanthal etc., had joined the Sikhs. The support of the local zamindars appears to have been an important factor in the rapid success of the Sikhs. The same despatch refers to the report of Prince Jahandar Shah who, while stating that the Sikhs under the guru had approached

Saharanpur, but Jalal Khan Rohilla, many Sadat and others numbering 6,000 sawars and the same number of foot had faced them near thana Jalalabad and Muzaffarnagar, referred to a popular belief that the guru was God Shankar himself.[2]

The Rajput policy of Bahadur Shah was in many ways a continuation of Aurangzib's policy in Marwar. Taking advantage of a dispute between Jai Singh and his younger brother, Vijay Singh, Bahadur Shah had taken Amber in *khalisa* and posted an imperial faujdar there. He had also refused to relinquish Jodhpur to Ajit Singh.[3] When Bahadur Shah moved towards the Deccan, the Rajputs took advantage of the situation to take up arms to recover their homelands. This object they were able rapidly to achieve due to the feebleness of the Mughal administration and lack of co-ordination among the local commanders. Ajit Singh then turned his attention to Ajmer. Information regarding Rajput diplomatic activities is generally lacking in the chronicles of the period. The present documents provide some interesting information showing the close link between Ajit Singh and Maharana Sangram Singh, and the relations between the latter and the Mughals. Early in 1709, the sahukars reported that about 40 lakhs of rupees which was coming from Ahmadabad loaded in carts ('*arabaha*) had been plundered near mauza Kohara by Maharaja Ajit Singh's army and appropriated by the latter for his use.[4] Soon after this, it was reported that Ajit Singh had besieged Ajmer. He had fought Abdullah Khan who was coming from Ujjain near Khale Khokarah and plundered his caravan and the treasures belonging to Jahandar Shah which he had with him. The local zamindars, Moan Singh etc., joined the Rajputs.[5]

The Emperor was distressed on hearing these news. Moreover, it was reported to him that Ajit Singh had come to Ajmer at the invitation of Saiyid Shujaat Khan Barha, the governor of Ajmer, who told him that the city was empty (i.e., denuded of troops) and that he would be able to occupy it easily.[6]

Since Bahadur Shah was busy in the Deccan, it was deemed advisable to negotiate with the Rajputs. A number of entries in the present documents corroborate the account based on the Udaipur records given in the *Vir Vinod*. It would appear that Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar played a prominent part in these negotiations. An entry says that the negotiations for the return of their homelands (*autan*) to the Rajputs had all along been carried on through him.[7] Another entry refers to letters to Maharaja (Sangram Singh) urging him not to join Ajit Singh in his attack on Ajmer. The Imperialists were apparently prepared to accept all demands of the Rajas, but Ajit Singh had apparently referred to the Maharana Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk's (Zulfiqar Khan's) letter to him about the matter. The Maharana was therefore urged to use his influence not to let Ajit Singh continue in his evil ways.[8]

Finally, the Rajput Rajas were urged that sanads restoring their homelands to them would be issued soon, and that they should accept appointment to the subahs of Kabul and Ahmadabad. They were also urged to strengthen their thanas against the guru at Sadhaura.[9]

There is a good deal of interesting information in the Jaipur Records about administrative affairs also. In this connection, only one entry might be reproduced.

"It is being said that the ranks of prince Muizuddin (Jahandar Shah) 30,000/30,000, Azim-ush-Shah 25,000/25,000; Rafi-ush-Shan 20,000/20,000 and the fourth (Jahan Shah) 15,000/15,000 have been confirmed. But a reduction of 2,000 (*Zat*) had been made in the *mansab* of Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk, Khan-i-Jahan Khanan Bahadur and all other nobles who had obtained promotions. It was said that Khan-i-Khanan had been reduced to 5,000, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq mutasaddi, Kokaltash Khan and Sher Afghan Khan to 500/500. (As a result) Jagirs worth 57 crore dams had been resumed to khalisa. It is said that there was a dispute between prince Muizzuddin (Jahandar Shah) and Azim-ush-Shan regarding the mahal in their jagirs. Chakla Bareilly was transferred from prince Azim-ush Shan and taken in Khalisa............Pargana abad Pisraur and other parganas belonging to the princes and the high grandees were also transferred and taken into Khalisa as during the reign of Khuld Makan (Aurangzib)............"[10]

These throw a revealing light on the financial condition of the empire at the time. It is possible that the efforts made by Munim Khan to check the excessive promotions and appointments by Bahadur Shah were made at the same time. But it appears that all these efforts ended in failure.[11]

A close study of the working of the administration in the light of the information provided by the Jaipur Documents in Persian and Rajasthani would help to throw further light on the factors and processes leading to the breakdown of the Mughal administration during the 18th century.

[1] Jaipur Records No. 131, Julus 3, Bahadur Shah (1709).

[2] J. R. No. 161, d. 24 Jamada I, Julus 4, Bahadur Shah (21 July 1710), (wrongly ascribed to the reign of Farrukh Siyar).

[3] J.R. No. 129, Julus 3, Bahadur Shah .(1709).

[4] J.R. No. 142, Julus 3, Bahadur Shah (1709) (wrongly ascribed to Farrukh Siyar).

[5] *Ibid.* This was reported to the Emperor by Wasil Khan under his own seal.

[6] J.R. No. 129, Julus 3 (1709).

[7] J.R. No. 142, Julus 3, Bahadur Shah (1709).

[8] J.R. No. 138 d. 25 Rabi II, Julus 3 (4 July, 1709).
For further details of these negotiations, see *Parties and Politics*, pp. 36-37.

[9] J.R. No. 134, d. 11, Rabi I, Julus 3 (21 May, 1709).

[10] See Khafi Khan, *Muntakhal-ul-Labal*, pp. 628-30.

[11] JIH. April 1928, Moreland—*The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, pp. 216-23.

IQTA SYSTEM UNDER THE LODIS

IQTIDAR HUSAIN SIDDIQI

The *iqta* system under the Lodi Sultans requires a thorough examination. The Afghan chroniclers who wrote their books long after the overthrow of the Afghan rule, use terms such as *jagir* and *jagirdar* which were adopted during Akbar's reign. But the contemporary hagiological literature contains important references to administrative officers. All this, if properly inquired into, helps us greatly to understand the administrative system under the Lodis. In the light of these references, the later Afghan chronicles may also be carefully utilised.

The history of the *Iqta* system can be traced back to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in northern India. The early sultans assigned *iqtas* to their nobles for their maintenance instead of cash salaries. The nobles who were assigned small *iqtas* were called *iqtadars* while the large *iqtas* were assigned to high nobles partly for the maintenance of their family and large contingents of sawars and partly for the administration.[1] These high nobles were called *Muqta'is*. Their accounts were settled at the department of the vizarat.[2] By the time of the Lodis the *iqtadars* seem to have been officially called *Wajahdars*.[3] But the land-assignments were still called *iqtas*.[4] The terms, *Muqta'i*, *Hakim* and *Amir* were also used by people for the assignees.[5] Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi also calls some of them *Muqta'i* and *hakim*.[6]

THE NATURE OF THE ASSIGNMENTS

The *iqtas* were assigned to the nobles excluding the land-grants given to the scholars, Sayyids and pious persons by the Sultan for their maintenance. The *iqtas* differed in size. It might be a parganah, less than a parganah, sarkar or the whole province. The *Wajahdar, Muqta'i* or *hakim* whosoever he might be, had no right over these land-grants (called *imlak, wazif* and *Wajah-i-maash*).[7]

Sultan Sikandar is reported to have written in the farmans that the *imlak* and *wazaif* were excluded from the *iqta*.[8] If any noble was reported to have disobeyed Sultan's farman by oppressing any *wajah-i-ma'ash* holder, he was severely punished. Once Malik Turk *Muqta'i* of Arwal (in Gaya district) deprived a Sayyid of his milk. The Sayyid came to the Sultan to file his complaint against the oppression he suffered at the hands of Malik Turk. Since Malik Turk was found guilty after the inquiry was made into the matter, the Sultan dismissed him from the state service[9].

At the same time no noble could occupy any land which was not specifically mentioned in the farman of assignment. Once some noble complained to Sikandar against Miran Sayyid Fazl Ullah that he was assigned the *iqta* of one lac while he had occupied the *iqta* which yielded five lac tankas. He also said that if the *iqta* would be transferred to him, he would keep only one lac tankas with him and would pay three lacs to the royal exchequer and the remaining one lac to Miran Fazl Ullah. Therefore, an inquiry was instituted into the matter by the order of the Sultan. The land was measured and the *amin* and Muqadams attended the court with their findings. It was brought to the notice of the Sultan that the *iqta* yielded 15 lac tankas instead of five but it was assigned to Miran by the Sultan himself.[10] This is indicative of the fact that the *iqtas* were not granted to the nobles on the basis of heredity or "on the conception of the kingdom being tribal property" as Dr. Saran observes.[11] The assignees could be transferred from their *iqtas* if it was thought necessary.

TRANSFER OF IQTAS

Though Sultan Bahlul is reported to have feigned humility before his high nobles and also treated them as brothers only to keep them tied to the state chariot, he was also cautious towards ambitious nobles who might carve out independent principalities. Every one of them, irrespective of his status and position had to be obedient to the Sultan. Even the slightest indication of disobedience on the part of a noble could bring about his ruin. The case of Tatar Khan Lodi *hakim* of the Punjab is a case in point. He had 15,000 sawars in his service and was one of the seven powerful Afghan nobles who supported Bahlul to occupy the throne of Delhi. But when he assumed an air of independence and seized some parganahs of the Khalisa, he was destroyed by the royal army and then Umar Khan Serwani was entrusted with the administration of the Sarkar of Lahore.[12] Since the nobles of the Sayyid period used to change their allegiance either in favour of Sultan Bahlul or the Sharqi rulers, they were severely dealt with. Rai Pratap of Bhogaon, Qutub Khan Afghan of Rabri, Rustam Khan of Koil were suppressed for ever.

As far as Bahlul's successors are concerned, they were very particular of asserting their sovereign authority in all the government affairs. Just after his accession, Sultan Sikandar decided to replace the old turbulent Afghan nobles by his own favourite ones. First he replaced Prince Alam Khan by Khan-i-Khanan Nuhaur in Rapri.[13] The *iqta* of Patiali which was held by Bahlul's cousin Isa Khan Lodi, was assigned to Rai Ganesh who had deserted Prince Barbak Shah in Jaunpur.[14] Likewise Prince Azam Humayun was replaced by Mahmud Khan Lodi in the Sarkar of Kalpi.[15] In 915 A.H. also the Sultan transferred some of his important *iqtas* from the old nobles to others for certain political reasons.[16] After the death of Masnad-i-ali Husain Khan entitled Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, the Sultan did not assign his *iqta* and office to his son Ahmad Khan but allowed Mian Zain Uddin, the officer of Khan-i-

Jahan Lodi, to succeed to his master.[17] Sultan Ibrahim also continued this policy throughout his reign. Since Ibrahim Lodi reposed high confidence in Ahmad Khan Lodi he replaced Mian Zain Uddin by him in his father's *iqta*.[18] Sultan Ibrahim also recognised Samru as the successor of Mian Muhammad Furmuli while his parentage was doubtful. Samru proved himself a competent military man and got an *iqta* in the Sarkar of Oudh.[19]

It is also noteworthy that the *Muqta'is* of the Lodi period were not subject to frequent transfers like the Mughal nobles under Akbar and his successors. The *Muqtais* or *wajahdars* were not transferred from their *iqtas* if they did not lose the confidence of the Sultan.[20] There were certain nobles whose descendants also remained in occupation of their *iqtas* as their successors, provided they were worthy of the rank and office of their fathers.[21] If the Sultan considered the sons of any deceased noble unworthy of his office and rank, he could set aside their claim. The sons could succeed their fathers in their office and rank as a favour from the Sultan, but the principle of hereditary succession was always adhered to.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE ASSIGNEES

When the assignment was made, the assignee was allowed to have complete right over the revenue of his *iqta*. He had to pay an annual amount of the surplus revenue to the centre. This was fixed in the light of the previous records of the parganahs and the villages. They had to get their accounts checked at the Diwan-i-ala. If all these formalities were fulfilled properly, the assignee was allowed to administer his *iqta* as he thought better. He kept the turbulent element in awe for the maintenance of peace and order.[22] If the *iqtas* yielded larger amount of revenue than it was speculated by the *Diwan*, the assignees were allowed by Sultan Sikandar to keep it with them due to his generous nature.[23] As the master of the revenue of their *iqtas*, they could assign certain lands to pious persons like the Sultan.[24]

The *Muqta'i*, *Wajahdar* or the *hakim* was responsible for the administration as well as the maintenance of peace and order in his *iqta*. If he was posted somewhere outside his *iqta*, his representative administered it. He exercised full military and executive power inside the *iqta* quite independent of the *hakim* or the Sarkar of the province. For example, Sultan Bahlul appointed Masnad-i-ali Umar Khan Serwani as the *hakim* of the Lahore Sarkar while he was given *iqta* in the Sarkar of Sirhind.[25] After Umar Khan's death, his sons Khan-i-Azam Said Khan and Haihat Khan also remained in Lahore and Shahabad till their exile during Sikandar's reign.[26] Similarly when Sultan Ibrahim turned hostile to his father's nobles, he also favoured those nobles who were exiled by his father. Therefore, Isa Khan Serwani son of Haibat Khan

Serwani who had returned from Malwa was granted the title of Masnad-i-ala. He was posted in the Delhi fort while his *iqta*, Thanesar, was administered by his son, Kamal Khan.[27]

Now, we can deduce the following facts:

The decline of the Delhi Sultanate during the 14th century was paradoxically paralleled by an evolution of social and administrative institutions. The Lodis not only retained these institutions but also revived the rapidly declining Sultanate. The state was considerably centralised, in the sense that the Muqta'is or hakims had no clearly defined powers that could not be disturbed by the crown. There was no constitutional or customary safeguard. The laws and orders of the Sultans prevailed all over the Empire if he was powerful enough to enforce them.

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[1] Vide Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Bib. Ind., pp. 172, 180, 182, etc., *vide* Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Bib. Ind., pp. 40, 61-63, etc.

[2] Afifs' *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Bib. Ind., p. 414.

[3] Shaikh Rukh Uddain refers to Malik Usman Karrani who was the *wajahdar* of the parganah of Gangoh where he wanted to keep with him one of the sons of his religious preceptor, Shaikh Abdul Qudus. At another place he also mentions his master, Masnad-i-Ali Isa Khan Sarwani in the following words: "As Shershah entrusted Masnad-i-ali Isa Khan with the Munsafi of Sambhal. The latter was also granted two parganahs of Kant and Tilhar as a *wajahdar*. Masnad-i-ali said (to the writer): "You should go there for the administration of the parganahs. I requested him to send some other persons as I liked to remain with him." *Vide Lataif-i-Qudusi*, Mujtaba'i-Press, Delhi, pp. 62, 83. Since Shaikh Rukh-uddin lived in close contact with Malik Usman Karrani and Masnad-i-ali Isa Khan, we can presume that both the Lodi as well as the Sur Kings assigned the maintenance-- *iqtas* to their nobles as *wajahdar* and not *iqtadars*.

[4] *Waqiat-i-Mushtagi*, Rotograph of the Ms. in the British Museum, ff 65-66a.

[5] Shaikh Abdul Qudus refers to Qazi as the Muqta'i of Oudh and also the amir-i-Khita-i-Oudh on different pages. He also speaks of his greatness that Qazi Razi was one of the leading nobles. *Vide* Shaikh Qudus's Anwar-ul-Aiyunm Ahsan Press, Aligarh, 1950, pp. 18, 21 and 52. *Lataif-i-Qudusi*, p. 5. *Maktubat-i-Qudusi*, p. 20.

[6] *Vide* Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, ff. 34b, 65-66 etc.

All the later historians wrongly call the assignees *jagirdar* instead of *Wajahdar* or *Muqta'l*. There is no reference to jagir in any book written before Akbar's accession. The *Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*, so called contemporary work of the Sur period frequently refers to jagir in the sense of *iqta* even for the Lodi period. But the language and the contents of this book show that it was fabricated during Shah Jahan's reign. Therefore, it was possible for Sujan Rai to use it in his famous book, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*. The Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi of Hasan Ali Khan is an untrustworthy work because many of its accounts are not corroborated by reliable evidence. For instance, Muhammad Khan Sur of Chand has been called the hakim of Jaunpur while Abbas says that he held the parganah of Chanund with rank of 1,500 sawars. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, pp. 25-26. Moreover, Mushtaqi says that no Sur was given the rank of an *amir* during the Lodi period. He also mentions Saif Khan Sur, the highest government officer among the Surs:

'Saif Khan was the servant of Sultan Sikandar but did not hold the rank of an *amir*. He lived in the town Buran'. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 47b. Similarly the author of *Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi* says that Sher Shah married the widow of Bahadur Khan Nuhani and thus occupied Bihar. This is absolutely incorrect.

As far as the terms by the author are concerned, they were not in vogue during the Afghan period. For example, the term, *Suba* an equivalent to the province was not adopted in the early years of Akbar's reign. But the author refers to the "*Subah* of Bihar". *Vide Daulat-i-Sher Shahi,* pp. 12 and 15. *Medieval Quarterly Aligarh,* Vol. I, No. 1, July 1950.

In short, the book seems to be fabrication of Shahjahan's reign. Dr. A. A. Rizvi has also successfully contested the authenticity of the title page and also colophone. See *Medieval Quarterly,* Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 74-78.

[7] During the period under review the *imlak* and *wazaif* were also called wajah-i-Ma'ash. Later on it began to be called Madat-i-Ma'ash during Akbar's reign. *Maktubat-i-Qudusi,* letter No. 119, p. 238.

[8] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi,* f. 11b.

[9] *Ibid.,* f. 13b. [10] *Ibid.,* ff. 26b, 27a.

[11] Dr. P. Saran's '*Provincial Administration of the Mughals,* 1941 Ed., p. 62.

[12] *Waqait-i-Mushtaqi,* f. 19a-b.

Abbas Khan Serwani says that after the death of Masnadi-i-ali Tatar Khan, Bahlul appointed Masnad-i-ali Umar Khan in Lahore. He also tells us about his *iqta* in the sarkar of Sirhind where Hasan Khan Sur entered his service: "He came to Masnad-i-ali Umar Khan's jagir of Banaur, Shahabad and Payal and entered his service."

Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, p. 6.

Shaikh Rukn-uddin also tells us that the parganah of Shahabad was included in the *iqta* of Umar Khan Serwani.

Lataif-i-Qudusi, pp. 30-31.

But none of the above-mentioned writers says anything about the rebellion of Tatar Khan. Abbas Khan either suppressed this fact, because it indicated the disloyalty of the Afghan noble to the Sultan, or he did not know it. Babur also shows his ignorance about this fact. He says that after Tatar Khan's death, who was the governor of the Punjab, Sikandar assigned only the sarkar of Lahore to his son, Daulat Khan. Thus he does not mention the appointment of Umar Khan Serwani in Lahore.

Babur nama, translated by Mrs. Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 382-83.

[13] Nizamuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Bin. Ind., p. 315.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 315.

[15] *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani,* Pakistan Asiatic Society, Dacca, p. 173.

[16] *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* p. 332. [17] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi,* f. 29b.

[18] *Ibid.,* ff. 30b—31b.

[19] *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,* pp. 53-54.

[20] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi,* f. 26b.

[21] See *Tarikh-i-Sher Shah,* p. 53. *Vide* Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, ff. 22b-33a, 65b-66a.

[22] *Tarikh-i-Sher Shah,* pp. 13-14 for Farid Khan's (later Sher Shah) measures adopted against the recalcitrant zamindars.

[23] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi,* ff. 26b-27a.

[24] *Anwar-ul-Aiyun,* p. 19.

[25] *Vide Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,* pp. 6.

[26] *Lataif-i-Qudusi,* pp. 30-31.

Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan, p. 190 for Said Khan's posting in Lahore and exile.

Lataif-i-Qudusi, p. 41 for the exile of Said Khan and Haibat Khan. Said Khan, the eldest son was given the title of Masnad-i-ali after his father's death. See *Maktubat-i-Qudusi,* p. ·16.

[27] *Tarikh-i-Sher* Shahim, pp. 88-89 for Isa Khan's appointment in the Delhi fort. *Lataif-i-Qudusi,* p. 72 for the parganah of Thanesar.

THE POSITION OF DESAI IN THE PARGANA ADMINISTRATION OF SUBAH GUJARAT UNDER THE MUGHALS

B. R. GROVER

The nature of *Desai's* office in the Pargana administration of the Mughal *Subah* of Gujarat has not received any attention so far. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Moreland, Dr. P. Saran and Prof. S. R. Sharma do not say anything about this office and its working in their respective works on the Mughal administration.[1] Even though in all other respects the pattern of Pargana administration in Gujarat was similar to that in other *Subahs* in Northern India, the existence of the office of the *Desai* as the Government official and as the representative of the ryots was exclusive to Gujarat. It was, of course, also prevalent in the administration of some of the Deccan *Subahs*.[2] For the Province of Gujarat it finds a very frequent mention in the official documents viz., *Farmans, Nishans, Hasbulhukms, Parwanas*, the Daily-Reports of the *Waqia-navis, Dasturul amals* and the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*. The English factory records and the Dutch documents equally refer to this important official in the local administration. As the other local officials like *Patwari, Muqaddam, Chaudhari, Qanungo* and *Shiqdar* also find description in the foregoing documents,[3] the *Desai's* office cannot be identified with any of these. All the same, on the basis of the above sources, it is possible to construct a tentative picture about the position of *Desai* in the *Pargana* administration of *Subah* Gujarat.

Though the title of *Desai* can be traced to the pre-Mughal times in the Bijapur state and the territories of the Hindu Chiefs on the Malabar coast,[4] in the Mughal *Subah* of Gujarat, it owes its inception to Todar Mal of Akbar's reign, who during his measurement reforms and reorganisation of the land revenue administration appointed *Desais* in all the Mahals.[5] The *Desai's* office existed both in the *Khalsa* and the *Jagir lands*.[6] He also functioned in the areas under the jurisdiction of a certain class of Zamindars.[7] The Desai was appointed by a *Parwana* issued by the Provincial authorities and had territorial jurisdiction over a circle of villages[8] or at times even a full *Pargana*.[9] His status in the *Pargana* was next to the *Shiqdar* but higher than the other revenue officials like *Muqaddams, Chaudharis* and the *Qanungos* who worked under him.[10]

As to his main functions, as a resident revenue official, he had to work for the increase of agricultural produce as well as for the welfare of the ryots.[11] He was essentially an assessment official and was responsible for the proper assessment and fixation of '*Jama*' of the cultivated areas of the villages under him in accordance with the regulations and the detailed classification of the land. A Parwana dated 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. issued by Nawab Sadiq Mohammad Khan to

Khwaja Mohammad Maasum of *Pargana* Supa, *Sarkar* Surat, states that he had received a complaint from some of the villages against the *Desai* of the above Pargana reporting that the latter, contrary to the established practice, had not accomplished proper assessment of the cultivated fields of the villages and had done only summary assessment of the villages based on the past records. He had also illegally realised the village expenses (Malba) and forcibly arrested twenty-two persons. The same *Desai* had also omitted the assessment of his own cultivated lands amounting to three thousand Mahmudis[12] which had not been deposited in the treasury. The Parwana directs the addressee to summon the above *Desai* and admonish him to carry out fresh assessment of the disputed villages, based on the inspection of the cultivated areas and the '*Hasil*' (produce), to afford remission to the ryots of the villages in accordance with the established practice, to release the imprisoned persons, to deposit land revenue of his personal cultivated land and to avoid such irregularities in future.[13] Another Parwana dated 9th year of Shah Jahan's reign directs the *Desais* of the Parganas Balsar and Parnera (Sarkar Surat) to concede to the ryots half the remission on the excess produce on the bard land.[14] Still another Parwana of the same reign shows the *Desai's* direct control over the assessment of the fields of the cultivators through the *Muqaddams* and the fixation of the '*Jama*' (assessed demand) on the holdings of the cultivators.[15] In co-ordination with the *Muqaddams* under him, the *Desai* was responsible for the advancement of the *Taccabi* (agricultural loans) to the deserving ryots and their subsequent recovery in instalments in accordance with the established practice.[16] He had also to safeguard the ryots against any over-realisation of the land revenue by either the revenue officials of the Khalsa administration or the agents of the *Jagirdars* and was required to bring any irregularity on this account to the notice of the higher authorities. Mirat-i-Ahmadi while quoting Akbar's Farman regarding the remission of Zakat issued in A.H. 999/1590 A.D. states that during the administration of Khan-i-Azam, *Desais, Muqaddams* and ryots of most of the *Parganas* submitted a petition to the royal court that the agents (*Gumashtas*) of the Nazims and Jagirdars expropriated the entire income of the Zamindars by exacting illegal cesses after the revenue collections were made. This had led to insurrection on the part of the Rajputs, the Kolis and the Muslims and consequent plundering of the produce and devastation of the cultivated fields by the latter. As this had resulted in the decrease of the Government revenue, the Diwan of the Subah was enjoined by the aforesaid Farman to make proper arrangements for the realisation of the land revenue through the agencies of the *Desais* and the *Muqaddams* both in the *Khalsa* and the *Jagir* lands.[17] As such, the *Desai* had to safeguard the interests of the ryots and even of the petty Zemindars against any undue coercion on the part of the local Government officers and the assignees.

He had to tour every area in his jurisdiction and to keep a watchful eye on the revenue officials.[18] He was equally responsible along with the *Muqaddams* under him for the proper collection of the land revenue in accordance with the regulations.[19] He had the special responsibility of preventing the migration of any of the ryots or tenants to other places and in case of any such occurrence, he had to induce the migrator to settle in his homeland and also to afford him all facilities for resettlement. A Parwana dated 9th regnal year of Shah Jahan's reign addressed to the *Mutsaddis* and the *Desais* of Parganas Kamrej and Balesar (Sarkar Surat) States that Kamchu and Kanwar, the tenants of the village Bankanirah, Pargana Balesar had migrated to a village in *Pargana* Kamrej and that Narain, the tenant of village Kalyan of the latter Pargana, had shifted to another village situated in the former Pargana. It further directs the above mentioned *Desais* to settle the tenants in their respective homes.[20] Another Parwana of the same reign narrates the position of a tenant who had migrated thrice. Ashaq, the tenant of a village Kacholi, Pargana Chaurasi (Sarkar Champaner) shifted for a few years to *Daman*. From there he came to Pargana Balsar (Sarkar Surat) and cultivated the land for two years. As the *Desai* of the latter Pargana insisted on entering him in the ledger of permanent occupants of holdings and thereby to assess him accordingly, the above mentioned tenant further shifted to village Rajwara, Pargana Chikhli (Sarkar Surat) and remained there for two months. Thereafter on the consolation and assurance for sympathetic consideration afforded by the *Desai* of the Pargana Chaurasi, he opted to go back and settled in his own home village. As the *Muqaddam* of Rajwara and the *Desai* of Balsar claimed and pressed for the repatriation of the above mentioned tenant to their respective territories, the above Parwana directs the latter officials not to insist on it and to allow the tenant to settle in his home village[21]. The *Desai* exercised full control over the *Muqaddams* in his circle[22]. Like the *Muqaddams, Chaudharis* and the *Qanungos,* he was always informed of fresh appointments of the officials, the assignees and the declared descendants of the Madad-i-Maash *holders* in the Pargana[23]. The *Desai* had as well a jurisdiction over the commercial dealings in his territorial circle. He was responsible for the enforcement of the state regulations for trade and commerce. As such, he acted under the authority of the *Faujdar* of his area[24]. For the proper discharge of his duties, he was provided with a staff of horsemen (*Sawars*) and Footmen (*Piyadas*)[25]. He was responsible to the *Shiqdar* of the Pargana, *Amin* and *Faujdar* of his area and the *Diwans* of the Sarkars and the Subah[24].

The Office of the *Desai* was more or less hereditary though on the relinquishment of the charge by the previous incumbent or his removal on ground of inefficiency, another competent willing hand could be appointed for the job. A *Parwana* of Shah Jahan's period quotes a vacancy of a *Desai's* post in *Pargana* Biyadra (*Sarkar Sorath*) on the relinquishment of a charge by an inefficient incumbent and requires the *Muqaddams* and the ryots for the suggestion of a voluntary offer by a competent hand for the job who would discharge the duties of the office enumerated therein.[27] This shows how exacting and responsible was the *Desai's* job and was not therefore always coveted and contested. Usually the *Desai* himself was a land-owner with local influence over the ryots.[28] Though at times, with his official position, he felt tempted to misuse his authority to coerce the ryots, taken as a whole, the contemporary sources emphasise the successful working of his office in the *Pargana* administration.

As to his remuneration, like the *Muqaddam,* the *Desai* was also entitled to commission on the revenue collections made in his circle. After Gujarat's conquest, during the first Governorship of Aziz Kokaltash, Todar Mal effected an assessment and '*Jama*' of the Province in 983 A.H./1573 A.D.[30] and during his settlement operations also fixed the *Desai's* share at 2.5% of the revenue collections made in the latter's circle.[31] This is confirmed by Akbar's *Farman* on the remission of Zakat dated A.H. 999/1590 A.D. issued during the 2nd tenure of Khan-i Azam Aziz Kokaltash's Governorship. It notes the laxity of land administration in Gujarat and directs the *Diwan-i-Subah* to permit the *Desais* and the *Muqaddams* to retain collectively 5% of the revenue collections to be shared equally. This was to hold good both for the Khalsa and the *Jagir lands.*[32] But it seems that a little later, within the second tenure of Kokaltash's Governorship, the share of the *Desai* was cut down to .625% only. *Mirat-i- Ahmadi* in its supplement states that since Todar Mal's time, ryots had to pay 2.5% of the realisations as the *Desai's* dues, but in the time of Khan-i Azam, half the dues i.e. 1.25% were cancelled, and half of the remaining half, i.e. .625% (ten annas against every hundred Rupees realised), was taken over by the Government and remitted to the royal treasury in favour of *Diwan-i Subah.* The balance of .625% of the realisations (Annas ten: Rs. 100) was retained by *Desais.*[33] This statement is further confirmed by the Mirat's list of 'Peshkash' amounts paid by the *Desais* of the various Parganas[34] when arithmetically worked out against the revenue of the same Parganas stated earlier[35].

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[1] Sarkar, '*Mughal Administration*', Moreland, '*The Agrarian system of Moslem India,*' Dr. P. Saran, '*The Provincial Government of the Mughals*', Sharma, S. R., '*Mughal Government Administration*'.

[2] For Subah Khandesh, see '*Selected Waqai of the Deccan*' (1660-1671 A.D.). Pp. 134, Published by the Central Records Office (C.R.O.), Hyderabad Government, 1953 and edited by Dr. Yusuf Hussain.

[3] For these officials in Gujarat, see Ms. Suppl. 482 Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Patwari fol. 151b; *Muqaddam* fols. 119b, 152b-154a; *Chaudhuri* fols. 151b, 174a; *Qanungo* fols. 91a, 148a; *Shiqdar,* fols. 158b-159a. Also see the

English Factories in India. Muqaddam, 1618-2, p. 74; 1622-23, pp. 125, 215; *Patel*, 1622-23, p. 212; *Qanungo*, 1618-21, p. 120; *Choudhari* 1618-21, pp. 120, 273; *Shiqdar*, 1618-21, pp. 273, 307.

[4] The term *Desai* is Marhati in origin. (*Dasturulaml* No. 767, p. 6. C.R.O., Hyderabad). The *English Factories in India* (1655-60 A.D.) in the Deccan Factories, 1660 A.D. (p. 356) mention the office of Desais at Rajapur who attested the *inventory* and the bill of the English Factors. Rajapur, *vide* p. 353, was under Rustam Zaman, who controlled the district round Rajapur in the name of the Bijapur monarch. The *English Factories* (1661-64 A.D.), for the Malabar Coast, 1663 A.D., p. 242 mention the Bijapur king's order to the Governor of the Punda post (Ponda, a Bijapuri frontier post ten miles S.S.E. of Goa city) to join hands with the 'Cuddall Jessyes' (*Desais* of Kudal. Kudal situated 13 miles south of Savantvadi) for fighting against Shivaji and routing him from Rajapur and Carrapatan. The *English Factories* (1668-69 A.D.) in the Malabar Coast, 1669 A.D. mention a quarrel between the Governor and the *Desai* of Karwar—a port under the rule of a Hindu Chief named 'Sunda Rajah' (*Vide* p. 268) who ruled in the name of the 'king of Carnopolly'. It seems that the *Desai* in the Bijapur state and the Malabar coast had under his territorial jurisdiction a port or a Pargana and had multifarious function inclusive of the executive powers for the regulation of trade and commerce, the attestation of the commercial documents as well as the police and the military powers for the enforcement of law and order. The *Bombay Gazetter*, Vol. X, p. 465, describing Kudal (Mentioned above in the *English Factories* 1661-64, p. 242) says, "Under the Bijapur kings its Brahman ruler was, with the title of *Desai* of Kudal, continued as the head of twelve sub-divisions, each governed by a naik".

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, Gaekwar's Oriental series, supplement, p. 228.

[6] *Ibid.*, I., p. 173.

[7] *Ibid.*, Suppl. p. 233 states that under the Sultans of Gujarat, the Zamindar of Rajpipala as feudatory chief had one-fourth of land in the Pargana of Nandod with 16 Parganas near Nandurbar. When his territory was conquered by Akbar, the Zamindar met Raja Todar Mal and explained his position. He was allowed with his previous possessions on the condition of serving with 1,000 horses....*Desais, Qaziz* and *Waqai-Niagars* (Reporters) were appointed in his territory by the Government. Also pp. 228-239 give detailed table of the 'Peshkash' (tribute) paid by the *Desais* as well as the *Zamindars* in the *Zamindar Parganas* of *Subah Gujarat*.

[8] Ms. No. Supul. 482. Bibiliotheque Nationale, Paris, *vide* Parwanas fols. 171b-173a; fol. 173a; fols, 160a-161a.

[9] *Ibid.*, fols. 173b-174a; fol. 166b.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.* fols, 173b-174a, *vide* a Parwana dt. Rabiulawwal A. H. 1056/1646 A.D.

[12] The exchange rate of Mahmudis to a rupee varied from 2¼ to 2½ Muhmudis against one Rupee, *vide* the *English Factories*, 1642-45, p. 96.

[13] Ms. B. N. Paris, fols. 170b-171b, *vide* Parwana 9th Muharram A. H. 100/ 24th September, 1594 A.D.

[14] *Ibid.*, fols. 153b-154a.

[15] *Ibid.* fol. 166b.

[16] *Ibid.* fol. 171b.

[17] *Mirat.* I, pp. 171-173.

[18] Ms. B. N. Paris, fol. 152a, *vide* a Parwana dated 12th Muharram, A. H. 1047/6th June, 1637 A.D.

[19] *Mirat.* I, p. 171.

[20] Ms. B. N. Paris, fols. 163b-164a.

[21] *Ibid.* fol. 166b.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.* fol. 173a, *vide* a Parwana dated 2nd Muharram A. H. 1056/18th February, 1646 A.D.

[24] The *English Factories in India,* 1634-36 pp. 287-88 narrate a complaint against the administration of Masih ul-Zaman, the Faujdar of Surat, who had wrongfully imprisoned the Desais for favouring the English Factors. The *English Factories,* 1634-36, 'John Drake at Mandu to President and Council at Surat', Sept. 7, (P. S. 9th Sept.) 1636, pp. 287-88, state, ". . . . . . The king, hearing of Monu Vassee (Mana Vaisya) and the rest of Desyds (Desais) imprisonment at Surat by the Huckeeme, is much displeased, and Meir Moza contended, who hath still hopes of that place; and likewise tells me the bath on our behalf procured the like Firmaen as the Dutch have required for their good usage in Bengala'. Also see a Dutch letter from Surat Summarised in the *Dagh Register,* 1636, p. 271.

[25] Ms. B. N. Paris, fol. 153a *vide* a Parwana dated 9th regnal year of Shahjahan.

[26] *Ibid.* fols. 160b-161a *vide* a Parwana dated 26th *Rabiulawwal,* A. H. 1056/12th May, 1646 A.D. Also *Mirat,* I, p. 171.

[27] *Ibid.* fols. 173b-174a *vide* a Parwana dated Rabiulawwal A. H. 1056/1646 A.D. (Pargana Biyadra Sarkar Sorath, *vide Mirat,* Suppl., p. 224. Jarrett. Ain. II, p. 263 inaccurately puts it as Banwara).

[28] *Ibid.* fols. 170b-171b. A Parwana dated 9th Muharram A. H. 1003/24th September, 1594 A.D. quoted earlier in the main text shows that the Desai of Pargana Supa (Sarkar Surat) owned large holding of his own cultivated lands on which three thousand Mahmudis could be assessed as land revenue which he had deliberately omitted to enter in the revenue documents and had evaded payment.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Mirat.,* I, pp. 131-32.

[31] *Ibid.,* Supplement, p. 228.

[32] *Ibid.,* I, p. 173.

[33] *Ibid.,* Supplement, p. 228.

[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 188-228.

[35] *Ibid.,* pp. 228-239.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE INSTITUTION OF MANSAB UNDER AKBAR

A. JAN QAISAR

Moreland[1] holds that Akbar introduced the 'double-rank' i.e. the *Suwar* rank in the 11th regnal year (156 A.D.), and thus he implicitly accepts the existence of the *zat* rank earlier to this date. According to him, the addition of the 'double-rank' was necessitated because of the fact that the officers did not keep their contingents upto the required number. Thus, the previous number of contingents required to be kept by an officer was transformed into his personal rank and a second rank i.e. the *Suwar* rank was 'superimposed' on the single rank which "was intended to be a hard fact".

The implicit surmise of Moreland that the single rank or the *zat* rank existed previous to the introduction of *Suwar* rank in 1566 seems to be based upon the list of the *mansabdars* given in the *Ain-i-Akbari.* The *mansabs* given in the *Ain* have been taken to indicate the *zat* ranks of the *mansabdars*. But a comparison of the lists of the *mansabdars* given in the *Ain* and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (of Nizamuddin Ahmad) makes Moreland's position untenable. Here, two examples will suffice to prove our points. According to the *Ain*, Bairam Khan held a *mansab* i.e. *zat* rank of 5,000.[3] But, it is strange that the *Tabaqat's* list does not mention the *mansab* of Bairam Khan at all. In the same way, in the *Ain*, Khwaja Jahan Harvi, who was called Khwaja Amina, is listed among the *mansabdars* of 1,000 *zat*, but the *Tabaqat* does not assign him any rank, although he is included in its list. The argument could be carried forward by pointing out that, apart from the list of the *mansabdars* in the *Ain*, nowhere in the *Akbarnama* or the contemporary chronicles is there reference to grants of *mansabs* either to Bairam Khan or Khwaja Jehan. Obviously, this could not have been an oversight on the part of Nizamuddin. It strengthens the suspicion that Abul Fazl tacked *mansabs* to the earlier officers posthumously. It appears that while Abul Fazl was compiling the *Ain's* list, he was faced with the problem of how and where to put those officers who died before the regular practice of awarding *zat* and *suwar* ranks had started. From a study of the *Tabaqat's* list of the *mansabdars*, it would appear that in it no officer, great or small, has been assigned any *mansab*, if he died before the introduction of the *zat* and *suwar* ranks. This casts suspicion on the existence of the single-rank or the *zat* rank prior to the eleventh year of Akbar's reign.

Once it is accepted that the *zat* rank did not exist before the 11th regnal year, it becomes difficult to accept Moreland's view which is based purely on inference that the *suwar* rank was introduced in the 11th R.Y. Moreland has based his view on a statement of *Akbarnama*[4] referring to the 11th R.Y., "As the branding department...had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that every one should keep some persons in readiness for service". It is strange that Moreland overlooked the rest of the statement which reads as follows: "There were three classes of the ordinary soldier assigned to the officers. The first class had 48,000 *dams* a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24,000". Immediately preceding the statement, we find brief references to the reforms directed towards the *jama* or assessment of the *parganas*, carried by Muzaffar Khan Turbati.[5] If the figures mentioned above do not indicate the salaries of the soldiers, then in the context of the

Revenue reforms referred to above, it can be suggested that probably the figures refer to the annual revenues of three kinds of *jagirs* and it is possible to suggest further that the holders of the three kinds of *jagirs* yielding different revenues were asked to maintain a fixed quota of troopers commensurate to the assessment of their *jagirs*. There is therefore practically no justification for the inferences drawn by Moreland.

From the *Akbarnama*[6] it becomes clear that in the 20th R.Y. the 'fixing of the grades' for the officers was carried out along with two other concomitant reforms i.e. the branding system and the conversion of the *jagirs* into the *khalisa*. The "fixing of the grades"[7] means the fixing of the *mansabs* and refers to the two ranks i.e. the *zat* and the *suwar*. Thus, both the ranks were introduced simultaneously in the 20th R.Y. (1573-74). The case of Khwaja Jahan Harvi can be recalled here. He died[8] on the eve of the three significant reforms mentioned above. And this is the reason why he probably does not get any *mansab* in the *Tabaqat's list*.

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[1] Moreland, *Rank (Mansab) in the Mogul State Service* (pub. in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1936).

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, p. 180 (Text, ed. Sir. Syed Ahmad Khan).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[4] A. Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ii, p. 270 (Text, Bib. Ind.).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[6] A. Fazl, *Akbarnama*, iii, pp. 69, 117 (Text, Bib. Ind.).

[7] "*Maratib-i-payhai-i- ai'yan-i daulat maqarrar farmudan*" (*Ibid.*, III, p. 69); and "*taiyun-i maratib-i mansab*" (p. 117).

[8] *Ibid.*, III, p. 109.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE MONTH SCALES IN THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM

NOMAN AHMAD SIDDIQI

The aim of this article is to examine the implications of month scales which affected the salary of *zat* and *sawar* ranks and at the same time the internal composition of the contingent of a *mansabdar* in proportion to the expected revenue of the *jagir* assigned to him and described in terms of months, such as 12 monthly, 8 monthly and 6 monthly. The question, as far as I know, has not been examined so far. The evidence contained, in some of the administrative manuals, documents and chronicles, however, enables us to discuss the question in some detail.

The mansabdars of "so many months" appear on first sight to mean those getting their full monthly salary for only the given number of months in the year, or in other words to be getting that amount which is in the same proportion to the total annual salary of their rank, as the number of months given is to 12. This view is confirmed by evidence contained in the *Farhang-i-Kardani*, the *Malumat-ul-Afaq* and the *Khulasat-us-Sivaq* which all give tables showing how the salaries could be determined for each month scale. In the first two works, the annual salary for *zat* rank is represented as one lac dams; and of 12 months as 2,500 Rs. (which is equal to one lac dams); then for each of the months, the amount given is in proportion to that of the number of the months to 12.

That this exact proportion for determining pay for different months was applied to *zat* rank is fully confirmed by the *Khulasat-us-Sivaq*. This work after giving the *dastur* or schedule of salaries for all *zat* ranks proceeds to specify salary under some *zat* ranks—5,000, 500, 400, 300, 200, 150, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, and 20—as fixed for each month scale. The exact proportion of the month's salary to the *zat* ranks total pay for 12 months is maintained.

Thus primarily the term "of so many months" indicates the proportion of total salary of his *zat* rank that the *mansabdar* in question is getting—a procedure designed to give honour and precedence to some persons who were not considered deserving, by need or by service, of a full salary according to their *zat* rank.

The month scale also affected the composition of contingents and the pay for the *sawar* rank, but neither varied in strict proportion to the parallel variation in *zat* rank. The formal standard composition of contingents given in the *Ain*[3] and in the later pay scales[4] was stated in the formula, 3 *si-aspa* 4 *do aspa* and 3 *yak-aspa* or 10 horsemen to 20 horses; yet it is obvious that this proportional composition of the contingents could not be maintained in all cases. For instance a heavier proportion of horsemen to horses would be required for normal duty in provinces, and for short campaigns against rebels. But in longer campaigns a larger proportion of horses would be called for as horses might die off in the course of long campaigns and remounts be needed to replace them.

This variation of remounts to horsemen was established through instituting different ratios of men and horses under the *sawar* ranks of the *Mansabdars* placed on the month scales. This was first discovered by Moreland who depended for his judgment on the following passage of the *Badshah Nama*.

"At the time the Imperial army was to take Balkh and Badakhshan, His Majesty on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition lasts each *Mansabdar* should only muster 1/5th. Accordingly a *Panjhazari Panjhazar Sawar* (5,000 zat plus 5,000 *Sawar*) mustered only 1,000, viz., 300 Si-aspa troopers, 600 Do-aspa troopers, 100 yak-aspa troopers (i.e. 1,000 men with 2,200 horses) provided the *hasil* (revenue realised) of his Jagir was of 12 months; if it is of 11 months (he should muster) 250 si-aspa 500 do-aspa and 250 yak-aspa (1,000 men with 2,000 horses); if of 10 months 800 do-aspa and 200 yak aspa troopers (1,000 men, 1,800 horses); if of 9 months 600 do-aspa and 400 yak aspa (1,000 men, 1,600 horses); if 8 months 450 do-aspa 550 yak aspa (1,000 men 1,450 horses); if 7 months 250 do-aspa and 750 yak aspa (1,000 men 1,250 horses); if 6 months 100 do-aspa and 900 yak aspa (1,000 men, 1,200 horses and if it is of 5 months, all yak aspa[5] (1,000 men, 1,000 horses).

Here the scale varies the proportion of *si-aspa* and *do aspa* and *yak aspa* with each month and the number of remounts diminish as the month scale goes down. Moreland had warned that the proportion of remounts given against each month's scale was not to be assumed to be the uniform rate for all *Mansabdars* since here it is fixed specifically for the Balkh and Qandhar campaigns. Abdul Aziz nevertheless falls into the error of applying it as a uniform rate for all the four rules of proportion of "*Sawar* Rank". That this is completely erroneous is proved by the tables of remounts given in *Khulasat-us-Sivaq*. The tables also prove that the rates of remounts given in Badshah Nama applied not only to the North Western campaign of Shah Jahan, but permanently for all *Mansabdars* called upon to provide contingents at 1/5th of their *sawar* rank.

These tables deserve to be reproduced in translation "Concerning the horses of *tabinan* (paid contingents) of *naqadis* and *jagirdars*.[6]

(a) One fifth part (applicable on) *Naqadis* per 100 *sawar* (rank).

Month scale	Total No. of horsemen	Total No. of horses	si-aspa horse-men	Horses	do-aspa horse-men	Horses	yak-aspa horse-men	Horses
12	20	44	6	18	12	24	2	2
11	20	40	5	15	10	20	5	5
10	20	35	.	.	15	30	5	5
9	20	32	.	.	12	24	8	8
8	20	31	.	.	11	22	9	9
7	20	25	.	.	5	10	15	15
6	20	22	.	.	2	4	18	18
5	20	20	.	.	.	.	20	20
4	20	16	.	.	.	.	16	16
3	12	12	.	.	.	.	12	12
2	8	8	.	.	.	.	8	8
1	4	4	.	.	.	.	4	4

(b) "*Mansabdars* who are posted (in provinces) and get jagirs in the same province muster according to the 1/3rd rule."

Month scale	Total No. of horsemen	Total No. of horses	do-aspa horsemen	Horses	yak-aspa horsemen	Horses
12	34	56	22	44	12	12
11	34	51	17	34	17	17
10	34	46	12	24	(21)	(21)
9	34	42	8	16	26	26
8	34	37	3	6	31	31
7	34	35	1	2	33	33
6	34	34	.	.	34	34
5	24	24	.	.	24	24
4	18	18	.	.	18	18
3	14	14	.	.	14	14
2	11	11	.	.	11	11
1	9	9	.	.	9	9

We have been so far discussing the number and composition of contingents required to be provided to Imperial musters by *Mansabdars* on the month scales. We have now to see what are the rules or scales of pay calculated for *sawar* rank of each month.

Unfortunately we have been able to find only one table where—and that also for *naqadis* alone—the pay of *sawar* rank is given for month's scale. This table is found in the *Farhang-i-Kardani* and deserves to be reproduced (in translation) at length. It immediately follows the table giving month by month proportion of 1 lac dams for the purpose of calculating salaries of *zat* ranks of *mansabdars* on month scales.[7]

Tabinan

holder of 12 month jagir per head (finafar) Rs. 40/-

holder of 11 month jagir per head Rs. 37/8

holder of 10 month jagir per head Rs. 35/-

holder of 9 month jagir per head Rs. 32/8

holder of 8 month jagir per head Rs. 30/-

holder of 7 month jagir per head Rs. 27/8

holder of 6 month jagir per head Rs. 25/-

holder of 5 month jagir per head Rs. 20/13

holder of 4 month jagir per head Rs. 16/10

holder of 3 month jagir per head Rs. 12/7½

The table does not obviously give the pay allowed per horseman or horse provided for the Imperial Army, for in that case, it would be uniform or nearly so. Here on the other hand the amounts are substantially reduced for each lower month. Consequently the figures here must be construed as standing for or related to pay allowed per unit of *Sawar rank,* which stood as constant, while the contingents of each *mansabdar* varied according to the month scale in which he was placed.

But nor can it directly stand for pay of unit of *Sawar* rank. That pay we know beyond question, was 8,000 dams annually. Here, however, the pay for 12 months scale is Rs. 40/-, presumably per month, i.e. to say 19,200 dams per year, an impossible figure. What then do the figures mean?

I venture to attempt an explanation which appears to me to be the only one that can solve the difficulty.

The table giving pay for the tabinan or paid contingents is, as noted above, preceded by a table giving proportion month by month of *Zat* salary. One lac dams or 2,500 rupees is taken as the standard salary per year or 12 months without reference to any particular *mansab.* The proportions are given merely to facilitate the calculation of the salary of any *zat* rank. This also may be regarded as the purpose of the table that follows it. Rupees forty is taken as standard and proportions of it are indicated month by month not as the actual pay allowed per unit of rank but as proportions which would facilitate calculation of *sawar* rank pay of any *mansabdar* on any month scale. Forty was a number specially convenient to serve as a standard when the pay allowed per unit of *sawar* rank was 8,000 dams a year. A few calculations for determining *sawar* rank pay on month basis would reveal the convenience of this figure. Thus if a *Mansabdar* hold a *sawar* rank of 100 in the 10 month scale, the calculation would start with the ratio 35:40 given in the table and would be computed in this way.

$$\frac{35}{40} \times 8{,}000 \times 100 = 35 \times 200 \times 100 = 7{,}00{,}000 \text{ dams.}$$

Proportional scale as the *Farhangis* table may be, it does not exactly correspond to the proportion of remounts either in the *Badshah Nama* or the *Khulasat-us-Sivaq*. Although on paper calculations the *do-aspa* and *si-aspa* were allowed twice and thrice the salary of a *yak-aspa,* this could not be the case in actual practice, since only horses and not the men doubled and trebled. As a result calculations which could apply to the standard composition of 10 men—20 horses would have to be varied, and the pay allowed on month's scale would descend at a lower pace than the number of horses. Yet when we reach the 5 month scale where only yak-aspa troopers remain the scale of men and horses and of pay ought to be in the same proportion. This is exactly the case. In the *Naqadis* Table in *Khulasat-us-Sivaq* the number of yak-aspa troopers is 20, 16 and 12 for 5, 4, and 3 months respectively. The corresponding pay allowed in the *Farhang* is Rs. 20/13, Rs. 16/10 and Rs. 12/7½ for the same months.[8] The proportion of the pay of each month scale to the other in this is down to an anna the same as that in the number of *yak-aspa* troopers of each month to the other in the case of these three months scales.

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[1] The *Farhang-i-Kardani*, ff. 24 ab, Abd-us-Salam Collections, 85/315 Azad Library, M. U., Aligarh.

[2] The *Malumat-ul-Afaq*, ff. 179 ab, Azad Library, M. U., Aligarh.

[3] The *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Trans., pp. 260-61.

[4] The *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, p. 84.

[5] The *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, p. 506.

[6] The *Khulasat-us-Sivaq*, ff. 53b, Syab, Sulaiman Collections, 410/43, Azad Library, M. U., Aligarh.

[7] The *Farhang-i-Kardani*, f. 24b, Abdus Salam Collections 85/315, Azad Library, M. U., Aligarh.

[8] Also see the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, pp. 228, 229.

MUGHAL NAVAL WEAKNESS AND AURANGZEB'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE TRADERS AND PIRATES ON THE WESTERN COAST

Syed Hasan Askari

One of the weaknesses of the Mughals was the absence of a proper navy in the modern sense of the term which made them dependent on foreigners for their commercial pursuits and safety of pilgrims. European merchants, adventurers and free-booters infested the Indian Ocean and coastal regions in the 16th and 17th centuries, but the Mughals were not strong enough to check their depredations and were unable to devise effective protective measures against piracy, foreign or Indian. Sivaji realised the need and built a strong navy with which he waged wars against the Europeans and he once captured and occupied the islands of Henry-kenry of Bombay after a bitter naval struggle with the combined forces of the Sidis and the English and showed that the Indians could hold their own against the foreigners if they brought their will and energy to bear on the task. But the Mughals with all the vast resources at their disposal could not display such effective reaction against European piracy in the Indian Ocean, specially the western side of it. The letters and instructions of Aurangzeb embodied in *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* and *Kalimat-i-Taiyyabat* form interesting reading. Many of them relate to the affairs of the English factory at Surat and piratical activities of the European nations at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries and they give us an idea of the attitude and views of the emperor and also reveal the helplessness of the Mughals on the sea.

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Aurangzeb appears to have realised the need of a navy worth the name and also the value of foreign trade: but he could not achieve his purpose. Even he had, as we find from the English Factories records, attempted to draw the trade of the Indus Delta away from Thatta to a new port at the mouth of Indus and built there a fort and a dock to give security and usefulness. But it took time for the new harbour to become known to the mariners and for some months the only ship that used it was a vessel belonging to the Prince. Manucci tells us "Having arranged the affairs of his kingdom with sufficient completeness, Aurangzeb, relying on the victories he had gained on land, thought of establishing the fear of himself at sea. He, therefore, resolved to set up a fleet with a considerable number of ships. The reason for this resolve was the loss of a Muslim vessel with 'Kauries' from the Maldive Isles, taken by the pirates. This was the reason of his wishing to create a navy to sweep the seas of pirates and make himself powerful at sea". We are further told that he was dissuaded by his Wazir, Jafar Khan, who said "There is no deficiency of money or timber or other materials to form a navy but there is lack of men to direct it". Aurangzeb persisted, but after an occular demonstration given by Ortensio Bronziono, an Italian, who had made a small ship fitted with guns and flag, he abandoned the project "thinking," says Manucci, that "to sail over and fight on the ocean was not the thing for the people of Hindustan but only suited to European alertness and boldness." The gossipy Venetian physician has told many stories which need not be taken seriously, and considering what was achieved by Sivaji, the *Angrias,* and the Sidis of Janjira to meet the challenge of their enemies, Indian and foreign, it is difficult to accept all that he says in this connection.

Perhaps Aurangzeb was much too occupied with what he considered to be more pressing affairs, specially his constant wars and campaigns against the Marhattas, to give the much-needed thought to the building up of an efficient navy for extirpating the European pests and pirates. The lure of revenue from the foreign traders also was, perhaps, a factor. The Factory Records say that once he had "made several overtures" to the English "to assist him in taking Danda Rajput Castle" in the fortified island of Janjira which had been occupied in the 15th century by some Abyssinians called the Sidis who acknowledged the overlordship of Bijapur. The Sidis had a strong fleet and were a thorn on the side of the Marhattas. They defied and outlived Sivaji and his successors. Their chief, Sidi Sambol, described by A. Wright as "the Mughal Admiral" because the Sidis supported their imperial interests, seized Henry, the smaller of the twin islands at the entrance of Bombay harbour and they invaded Bombay, overpowered the English garrison, and left the place a wreck. Sidi Yaqut, mentioned in the Ahkam, received a subsidy of 4 lakhs from Aurangzeb and it was due to his services that Sir John Child, the English chief, had to conclude an ignominious peace with the Mughals in 1689. The Sidi's or "the Mughal fleet", according to A. Wright, "consisted of a rare assortment of craft from large vessels of 300 or 400 tons armed with heavy ordnance to row boats, in which a few matchlockmen and spearmen found cramped accommodation". "As an opponent of well-found European squadron of ships this Navy was contemptible", says the same writer, "but as a medium for the delivery of a land attack on an island easily approached from a number of points it was not to be despised". Even the Sidis failed to check the depredations of the European pirates and Aurangzeb had to think of the Arabs of Musqat.

"Ever since the Portuguese left Musqat to the Arabs", writes A. Hamilton, "there have been continual wars, the Arabs being the gainer. Yet they have been obliged to build and buy the ships of force to confront the Portuguese at sea and to keep their coasts free from their insults. Their fleets have often met and had some engagements but few ships have been taken or sunk on either side, the merchant ships of both sides having been taken". Hamilton writes further that "The Arabs of Musqat keep all the sea coast in awe from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea. They have made often descents upon the Portuguese Colony on the coast of India destroying their villages and farms but sparing their children for better reasons".

Aurangzeb refers to the depredations of the Ferangis, the helplessness of the Muslims, and to the naval strength of the Arabs of Musqat in the following instructions, issued to Prince Azam, Subedar of Gujarat (1701-1705) "Shamsuddin Khan, the deceased, had submitted that the ships, including the royal vessels, cannot sail, without the permit of the Ferangis. For the past 20 years the ships of the Surat merchants and those destined for the Holy lands of Arabia are being plundered on the sea and Muslims and their ships have to face this ever-recurring danger. The Foujdars of that place from the end of the time of Itmal Khan, the deceased, till now, have been unable to remedy the situation. Any disregard or negligence is contrary to the Islamic sense of honour. As Surat lies within Ahmadabad you should consult those who are acquainted with these affairs such as the merchants of the Surat harbour and write if everything is all right. Concessions and connivance have been shown beyond measure. Kindness or leniency will not do, and severity and strictness have to be resorted to. Some means have to be devised. The Turks (Rumanians) and the Ferangis are in a state of perpetual clash and conflicts on the seas and there are battles between giants, some times one, some times other gaining the upper hand. The Kharijits of Musqat have a well equipped fleet for battles on the sea and they are the people of 'Qibla' (Muslims). There has been no fighting between the Ferangis and our victorious army".

Inayatullah explains the imperial instruction to Prince Muizzuddin, Subedar of Multan (1700) as follows "your wakil has reported to the court, on the basis of the writing of Ahmad Yar Khan, about the arrival, at Dharcha, within the jurisdiction of Jalal, the zamindar of Bandar Lahri, that one of the ships of Mullah Abdul Ghafur, the merchant of Surat port, has been plundered by the hat-wearers. He also reports that as the chief of Musqat has gained an ascendancy over the hat-wearers, if so ordered you may send to the ruler Shaikh Noorullah, an employee of Thatta, who is intimate with him, so that he may induce him to fight against them. The imperial order has been issued to the effect that you of noble extraction should depute some body to go to the ruler of Musqat and provide him with a sum up to 1,000. He should go there as a trader and tempt and persuade the Musqat ruler to turn to this exalted court. He should give a hint that the Iranian king is intending to send a force against Musqat and assure him, in the best way possible, of the help and support which he may get from here".

There are other references in the Ahkam. Its compiler, Inayatullah, explained the royal 'Hasb-ul-Hukam' to Mir Hussain alias Amanat Khan III, the "Mutasaddi of the Surat port" (died 1699) "The Ferangi Portuguese claim themselves to be merchants and are numerous . . . . . you should strike an alliance with the Musqatese and providing them with a few ships and 'Ghurab' fighters, fully equipped with arms to serve as convoy and guards on the sea, enjoin upon him to beat and drive off the ships of the hat-wearers, including the English and the Dutch robbers, and escort the pilgrims safely to their destination. You should adopt all possible practical measures you can think of to free the harbour of the hat-wearers and see that they do not stay in the vicinity of Surat port. Treat this affair as a cause of your advancement. The suggestion regarding the ship named Haji that it has become old and outworn, and a new ship may be built with its material for punishing the mischief-mongers of the sea and for carrying the pilgrims and grains has reached the court. The proposal to build a new ship out of the materials of the old has been approved of".

The cryptic orders contained in the Kalimat are also worth noticing "We are friendly to the Arabs for the sake of the real friend, the beloved of God. The All-mighty Holy God will take us to task in that the charities meant for the deserving residents of the Holy lands are not reaching them because of obstruction laid and plunders made. If you can devise some secret methods to send the same to the gentries there write so that the amounts may be remitted from here and the same is properly used there. But how long can the things go on in this way? Patience is to be practised". Elsewhere we get this. "Having enjoined upon Nijabat Khan to devise all possible measures for opening the sea routes and made enquiries from the merchants there, I write: It is not advisable to show more favours and concessions than what has been made till now. Their words are not to be relied upon as before. They have lost our confidence. If you can pacify and win over the ruler of

Musqat and induce him to fall upon those highway robbers whichever side is the killing, it will be for the benefits of Islam". It is to be noted that the Musqatese have been referred to as Kharijites and therefore they were heretics in the eyes of the puritan emperor.

We read: "As Inayatullah, Mir-i-Atash (artillery officer) with whom are associated the fire-discharging Ferangis and Abdul Ali Lari who is experienced in these affairs had been asked to suggest measures for chastisement (of the pirates) and for opening the sea routes for traders and pilgrims, enquire from them as to how this is to be done, by affability and good feelings or by wars and battles". Elsewhere Inayatullah has been described as the surgeon from whom details could be had about "the hat-wearing English, the mischievous robbers and highwaymen." "Apparently these owl-like people are without a head. They turn towards the Portuguese but are not in their control and are not amenable to reason".

The letters in Ahkam to Amanat Khan refer to "Kanho Angria" who "enjoys the confidence of the malefactors, harms all the people living on the borders of the sea, and extends his oppressive hands to the sea", and also to the letters of "Virzi Gowa" "who was negotiating with the merchants and was ready to become security for opening the routes to the Holy lands, and remedy the situation created by the "uneven conduct of the English and the Dutch towards trades, subjects and pilgrims for the past 20 years" in consequence of which "the route of trade and pilgrimage had been practically closed". The said "Virzi Gowa" had written about the disturbances raised by "Kanho Angria" on sea and land of Konkon, his oppressive activities and his roving with 200 vessels from Rajapur, Cambay to Sindhu and Surat. He had addressed a letter to Syed Qutubuddin, the Pirzada of Tilkokan, to suggest that if a contingent of 200 cavalry was deputed for the purpose all the paths of reinforcements and provisions of the wicked ones would be cut off from the landside; and as regards sea routes efforts might be made from Bassein and Daman for the capture of Kolaba, Kunderi, Suvarnadrug, Malwand, the strongholds of the wicked one who might himself be captured. On this orders were issued that the addressee should take what action he thought to be necessary after due consideration of everything.

We don't know who this Virzi was. Could he be Virji Vohra (Pirji Bohra), the merchant prince of Surat? He has been again mentioned elsewhere. In another despatch two letters of an imperial official of Surat are referred to and dissatisfaction is expressed at the conduct of "the leaders of the Ferangis of Daman" who had been asked to refuse admittance to the Marhatta vessels within his jurisdiction. Although two pieces of cannon were sanctioned for demolishing the small forts on the border, the suggestion that it was possible to seize the whole territory except the fort and including the 700 populous villages round about

Daman was turned down with the remark "His Majesty before his accession, had entertained the idea of capturing Daman at the suggestion of inexperienced people. But he soon realised the difficulty in wresting the fort of Daman from the Ferangis. Such people are to be drawn to the open land to meet manly persons and only in this way, they can be rendered obedient and submissive".

The cautious attitude of the emperor is revealed in other letters in Ahkam. There is a reference to Nijabat Khan's letter saying that Mulla Abdul Ghafur and other merchants had suggested that if the trade of all the hat-wearers was stopped, they would feel helpless within two years and undertake the protection of the sea routes. It also sought sanction of a force of 1000 cavalry and 2000 foot soldiers for the capture of Daman and Bassein belonging to the "Portuguese". The emperor observed, "The fort cannot be easily taken from the Ferangis. It will be an unwise move: the revenue will suffer much from stoppage of the trade of all the hat-wearers. They are all divided into 4 nations, Dutch, English, French and the Portuguese and embroilment with all means greater mischiefs on the seas".

Sometimes matters were left to the discretion of the local authorities. This happened when it was reported by Nijabat Khan that 6 ships of the French were standing off Surat harbour to give battle to the Dutch and that if the royal officials co-operated with the local merchants and held out hopes of favours to the French captain and involved them in a struggle with the Dutch, the latter would become helpless and give in. It was also suggested that the English captain should be kept under surveillance till the mischief was over. It was added that the English, the Dutch and the French had no place except the ports from where they could carry on their trade. If the indemnity bond (Muchalka), taken by Amanat Khan, the deceased, was withdrawn they would become more wicked and malignant. Bhagwan Das and other brokers of the Dutch and the English required thorough chastisement for they were the principal instigators of mischiefs".

The emperor often disapproved of some actions of his officials. In a letter to Itibar Khan reference is made to the devastation of the Parganas and villages, plunder of two ships, arrival of 7 war vessels of the Dutch at the blessed harbour, the closure of the pilgrim routes, the establishment of raised batteries (Damdama) on the side of Balsar by the addressee, and deputation by him of men for the custody and various kinds of punishment of the brokers who had in hand the deed of acquittance (Farighkhati) under the seal of the Qazi, exactions of money from the mischief-mongers, the flight of good bankers, and the various ways of exactions and public punishment resorted to by the addressee. The letter concludes "Such things have been frequently reported to the sacred court. What is the reason for all this confusion of affairs? Send a detailed and proper reply for regarding these matters the enlightened court has issued strict and emphatic injunctions. Vithal and Kesho were the sons of Bhimji of the Parrakh family of Bania brokers to the old E.I.Co. They were "barbarously tortured" says Sir J. N. Sarkar, and "three lakhs were extorted by the governor from these two men and three lakhs more from the Dutch brokers". We are further told by the same authority that Itibar Khan merely enforced the indemnity bond which his predecessor, Amanat Khan, had extorted from the Europeans in February 1699 to the effect that they would stand security for any losses caused to the Indian shipping by the pirates. Aurangzeb, on hearing of it, disapproved of Itibar Khan's action and superseded him by Nijabat Khan. Sarkar also tells us of the capture, on 28 August, 1703, of two ships of Surat, one belonging to Abdul Ghafur, and another to Qasim Bhai, when returning from Mocha. This led to the seizure of the Indian brokers of European companies, blockading of their factories, and cutting off their supply and every kind of communication with outside. He also refers to the arrival, in October 1703, of seven Dutch ships.

Perhaps the Mughal official took his duties too seriously. A letter in the Ahkam refers to such affairs. While acknowledging the letter of Itibar Khan mentioning the plunder of the ship of Mulla Abdul Ghafur by the English pirates off Surat, imprisonment of the brokers, demanding restitution of the money taken, the emperor's secretary writes "It transpired from the writings of Diwan of Tilkokan Adil Khani that the ship of Qasim Saudagar had also been ransacked by the villainous Englishmen who carried off the occupant of the ship. They took the merchandize of Abdul Ghafur to a place near Islam Bandar alias Rajapur. The imperial order has been issued that you should send a report of the truth of this affair and strive your utmost for the restitution of the plundered money and property". Again, Inayatullah writes "The extracts of your two letters have been placed before His Majesty and the receipt of 5 lakh, 48 thousand as a recompense for the plundered property of Mulla Abdul Ghafur has also been brought to his notice. The imperial order is to this effect that the brokers who have amassed lakhs are not desisting from the oppression of the Muslims. Charge them, punish them, and replace them by others. The Christian nations, are ever ready to fight against the Muslims. They should be kept abject and submissive as usual. They may continue to be engaged in their trade but should not be allowed to stabilize their position. You should establish police posts along the coast lines of the harbour". In the following letter reference is made to the plunder of the property of Mir Ali Naqi, a daughter's son of a former king of Iran who was one of the occupants of the plundered ship of Mulla Abdul Ghafur. Orders were issued "Every particle (Naqir-o-Qitmar) of the property of the newly-arrived youngman should be taken back and restored along with the restitution of the plundered property of the Mulla".

Some more letters in the Ahkam refer to the Iranian prince and his affairs. From the two account sheets (Tumar) that he sent to the court it was learnt that among the plundered property there were some presents for the emperor including a copy of the Holy Quran and other books "which were of no use to the Ferangis" and his goods, besides those whose value could not be correctly estimated, were worth 5 lakhs of rupees. The prince reported that Mohammad Iwaz, the dismissed accountant (Mutasaddi) had realised 9 lakhs from the Ferangis in lieu of the plundered property of Abdul Ghafur Bohra, and he had given the prince Rs. 20,000 only. "To whom did he make over the balance" was the question put to Nijabat Khan. This official sent some sheets bearing the seal of the Nakhuda and revenue supervisor of the plundered ship along with the copy of the receipt of Mulla Abdul Ghafur and the details of the embezzled amount of the dismissed accountant realised from Kesho Parrakh. He also reported that 40 vessels and 'Ghurab' were ready for sail but they had been detained in the harbour by adverse wind. But the question of the Holy Quran and other books plundered by the Ferangis continued to worry the emperor. Another letter in this connection is also worth referring to. Mohammad Iwaz, the dismissed accountant, made over Rs. 3,74,900 to Mirza Safavi Khan. But the emperor ordered Nijabat Khan to make confidential enquiries so that others might not get any inkling of it in order to ascertain the remaining amount due to the Iranian.

There was some trouble about the restitution of the property of Husain Hamidan, a merchant of Jedda and Surat whose fine ship with a cargo worth 14 lakhs was captured by the pirate, Shivers. Nijabat Khan had communicated the request of the "hat-wearers" for exemption from the indemnity bond on condition of providing escorting ships as was the practice from the time of Itimad Khan, the deceased, and also for redressing their grievances. The emperor left it to the discretion of the addressee. He was to make himself sure of the convoy so that the shipping trade with Arabia might be revived. The letter concludes with this order. "As regards the affairs of the money realised by Diyanat Khan and Itibar Khan as a recompense for the plundered property of the merchants and of Husain Hamidan, some amount was made over to the aforesaid merchant and some have been deposited in royal treasury. They now claim restitution. Considering what is good for the country and the public you may take the necessary action".

There are many letters in the Ahkam about the urgent need of effecting the liberation of two saintly personages, Sheikh Nurul Haq and Fakhrul Islam, son and nephew of Qazi Abdul Wahhab, and the occupant of a rich pilgrim ship returning from Mecca which had been captured by the Dutch pirates. Nijabat Khan had communicated the version of Mohammad Amin and four others that this pilgrim ship carried a cargo, in cash and kind, worth 10 lakhs. The Dutch captain would not release the captured pilgrim without express authority of the "Commodore of the factory". The addressee was enjoined upon to adopt all possible methods that he knew of and could use for effecting their release. Nijabat Khan had written that the Dutch captain had expressed his resolve to give up their settlement and return to their own land, and that he would release the occupants of the captured ship if no obstacle was placed in his way. The addressee was "ordered to settle this affair as speedily as he could, keeping in view the public good so that the persons and properties of the Muslims might get relief from the harrassment of the enemies of the faith".

In another letter, also relating to the release of these personages, the emperor's secretary wrote to Nijabat Khan "The sanad of immunity from indemnity bond has been sent as desired. Do what you consider to be advisable and proper for the release of the Muslims and their property from the hands of the "hat-wearers" and for opening the routes to the holy lands. As regards the suggested need of adopting severe attitude towards the "hat-wearers," the royal command has been issued, the warning and severity which are profitable may be resorted to, if it is for the sake of God. But if it will not serve the purpose, why should it be practised? It will not remedy the situation if the "Commodore" is sent without bringing back Sheikh Nurul Haq and Fakhrul Islam. If the said "commodore" brings down these saintly personages along with the mercantile goods taken, you may send him to the court for settlement of affairs. After their arrival with the "commodore", you may remove the grievances and pacify them so that being at rest in mind they may establish their factory and pursue their trade. If they abandon their mischief-making short-sighted methods no harm would accrue to them."

NAVAL STRATEGY OF THE MUGHALS IN BENGAL

ATULCHANDRA ROY

Nature endowed Bengal with all the resources requisite for a great naval power. Bengal had a long tradition of colonial and maritime activities. The peculiar physical configuration of Bengal, its numerous rivers, streams, creeks and its nearness to the sea, made Bengal since ancient days an essentially maritime country. As in the case of trade and commerce, so also in the case of warfare in Bengal, particularly in lower Bengal, navy played a conspicuous part in the ancient as well as in the middle ages. Most of the foreigners who visited Bengal during the 16th and 17th centuries have spoken of the maritime importance of Bengal's rivers and rivulets. Strictly speaking, the term naval warfare in its modern sense cannot be applied to the wars fought in Bengal between the Mughals and the Bhuiyas and between the Mughals and the Magh-Feringi pirates. But it cannot be denied that in most of these wars navy and naval strategy played a conspicuous part. In those days, the only effective instrument of war in Bengal was navy in which the Mughals were weak in their early stage of conquests in Bengal. In their subsequent wars with the Bhuiyas and the pirates who possessed strong naval forces and war-boats, the importance of navy and naval strategy was felt by the Mughals. Hence the Mughals had to undertake the task of organising a naval department, ('Nawara' as it was called), constructing war-boats, raising naval forts and docks and planning naval expeditions.

In naval encounters the Mughals had to depend for success on the massiveness and strength of their war-boats, the boats supplied by the vassal zamindars, the skill of the artillery accommodated in the boats and the maintenance of communications between the land army and the navy. The entire naval strategy of the Mughals in Bengal was developed on the mobility of their war-boats, naval guard houses at strategic places, the process of sounding the depths of the rivers, the 'nawara' grants in the coastal region and defensive measures.

At the beginning of Jahangir's reign, most of the strategic naval forts in Bengal were in the possession of the Bhuiyas and the Magh-Feringi pirates. Without going into details of the naval strategy of the Bhuiyas, it would suffice to say that the naval forts of the Bhuiyas were strongly built and raised at the confluence of important river routes. These naval stations were raised not exactly at the mouth of every confluence but a few miles off the confluence and link was maintained by means of canals, so that as soon as the news of the enemy's arrival reached, the war-boats were pushed down to the main confluence in series through the canals. Besides naval stations, the Bhuiyas possessed excellent harbours close to their respective capitals for building and repairing their boats and imparting naval training to their soldiers. In this connection, the harbours of Dhumghat (of Raja Pratapaditya), Sripur (of Raja Kedar Rai), Sonargaon (of Musa Khan) and Chittagong (of the king of Arakan) may be mentioned.

In lower Bengal the Mughals set up their first military post at Dacca in the time of Akbar. But at the beginning of their campaigns, the Mughals attached little importance to Dacca from the point of view of naval strategy. It was only when Islam Khan (the Mughal Governor of Bengal) launched his 'Bhati' campaign against Musa Khan in 1608 that the naval strategic importance of Dacca was felt and since that time Dacca was made the Mughal capital of Bengal. Rajmahal, the old capital, was abandoned, because a change in the course of the river Ganges on which this city stood had set in making the city thereby inaccessible to war-boats and unsuitable for naval defence. For the suppression of Musa Khan and the 'Twelve-Bhuiyas' first and Khwaja Usman next, Dacca was most favourably situated. Moreover, for the suppression of the Magh and Feringi pirates, a convenient base was required from which a close watch on the usual routes followed by the pirates could be kept. For this purpose also Dacca was most suitably situated. The river on which Dacca stands is invariably called the Dulai by Mirza Nathan (the author of Baharistan) and never Buriganga, its present name. It is to be noted that access to Dacca from the Meghna side was through two channels, one going to Demra and the other to Khizrpur. There were two small forts called forts of Beg Murad Khan at the point where the Demra channel bifurcated from the Dulai. Near Dacca about a mile down the river Lakhiya on its eastern bank stood the fort of Sonakanda. "The fort at Sonakanda gives one a good idea of what these forts were like. It is a rectangular enclosure provided with a bastion on the river frontage" (Bhattasali—*Early Mughal rule in Dacca—vide Islamic Culture*. 1942). Mirza Nathan speaks of an old fort in this region originally built by the Maghs, subsequently repaired by Musa Khan and used by him as a naval base (Baharistan-I). From the point of view of naval warfare and coastal defence against the pirates, Dacca provided a most convenient base.

For protection against the depredation of the pirates as well as for conquests in south-eastern Bengal, Bhulua in the Noakhali district provided another suitable naval base. It was of great strategic importance as commanding the route to and from Arakan particularly Chittagong. Two posts were subsequently raised by the Mughals, one at Bhulua and the other at Jogdia in course of their operations against the pirates (*History of Bengal II*). The river Feni rising in the hill of Tipperah and passing by Jogdia falls into the ocean. In those days numerous 'nulla' intervened between Feni and Chittagong. From Dacca to Chittagong six creeks had to be crossed in boats. Hence for campaigns as well as for defence, Bhulua and Jogdia formed the most suitable bases.

Permanent and. temporary naval forts, docks, guard-houses at the strategic places played prominently in the Mughal naval strategy in Bengal. At the time of their war with Musa Khan, the Mughals not only fortified Dacca, but also raised other fortifications in and around Dacca and built a shipyard on a permanent basis. As protective means against the attacks of the Magh-Feringi pirates, two forts were built on either side of the point where the river Dulai bifurcated—one branch joining the Lakhiya at Demra and the other at Khizrpur and also artificial canals were constructed for maintaining the heavy war-boats. "In the great dockyards that lined the channel passing through the city of Dacca in the quarter known as the Tanti-Bazar, boats were built in large numbers" (*Ibid*). Frequent mention is made in the annals of this period to docks, but these must be understood as referring to ship-building and careening shipways or to natural creeks improved by digging but not retaining water at low-tide. As a matter of fact the modern meaning of a dock as a water basin dates from 1811. The only dock serving as water-basin during the period was the dock of Pratapaditya near Dhumghat called 'Jahajghata'.

Near Dacca, two other naval stations of consequence were built by the Mughals for the purpose of providing additional defence of Dacca as well as for serving as advance bases of operations against the Mughal enemies. These two naval stations were Khizrpur and Qadam Rasul. The fort of Khizrpur stood near the confluence of the river Dulai and the Lakhiya, commanding the only water-route to Dacca from this side. "Here was the chief naval fort of the Muhammedan government and from it all their great naval expeditions set out" (Wise—*vide J.A.S.B.*-1874, I). The naval fort at Qadam Rasul (opposite modern Narayangunj) was surrounded on three sides by water. Batteries were raised in the fort and boats were always kept ready below the fort both for offensive and defensive purposes. So Dacca, Khizrpur and Qadam Rasul were the chief permanent naval stations of the Mughals and which constituted the backbone of the Mughal naval strategy.

Temporary naval forts were often raised in course of their campaigns in the eastern-Bengal waters. "In Bengal, there were no ancient forts except those at Gour, Akbarnagor, Ghoraghat, Dacca and some other places, but in time of need the boatmen quickly construct such a fort even the expert masters are unable to build one like it within months and years" (*Baharistan* I, p. 57). But it should be noted that these forts were raised temporarily and only in times of war. Land soldiers filled these forts while the war-boats defended them. At the time of Chittagong expedition, Sondip was turned into a temporary naval base of the Mughals. Situated off the coast of Chittagong, its strategic advantages could not be overlooked either by the Mughal rulers of Bengal or the Magh kings of Arakan. The Maghs and the Feringis used Sondip as their advance naval base in course of their plundering raids into the coastal regions of southern and eastern Bengal. The Mughals first conquered Sondip, raised temporary fortifications, built a dockyard there for keeping a division of the imperial fleet ready for emergency while the main naval force proceeded towards Chittagong in 1666.

In the time of campaigns, guard houses were set up supported by a number of boats at the mouths of the important rivers in order to supply the advancing army with boats when called upon to do so as well as to keep watch over the movements of the enemy-fleet. These guard-houses at the same time maintained the link between the advancing land army and the fleet. In the course of Islam Khan's 'Bhati' campaign, a number of such guard-houses were set up (*Baharistan* I, p. 393).

The system of sounding the depths of the rivers to be traversed by the invading fleet played a very important part in the Mughal naval boats and unsuitable for naval defence. For the suppression of Musa Khan and the 'Twelve-Bhuiyas' first and Khwaja Usman next, Dacca was most favourably situated. Moreover, for the suppression of the Magh and Feringi pirates, a convenient base was required from which a close watch on the usual routes followed by the pirates could be kept. For this purpose also Dacca was most suitably situated. The river on which Dacca stands is invariably called the Dulai by Mirza Nathan (the author of Baharistan) and never Buriganga, its present name. It is to be noted that access to Dacca from the Meghna side was through two channels, one going to Demra and the other to Khizrpur. There were two small forts called forts of Beg Murad Khan at the point where the Demra channel bifurcated from the Dulai. Near Dacca about a mile down the river Lakhiya on its eastern bank stood the fort of Sonakanda. "The fort at Sonakanda gives one a good idea of what these forts were like. It is a rectangular enclosure provided with a bastion on the river frontage" (Bhattasali—*Early Mughal rule in Dacca—vide Islamic Culture*. 1942). Mirza Nathan speaks of an old fort in this region originally built by the Maghs, subsequently repaired by Musa Khan and used by him as a naval base (Baharistan-I). From the point of view of naval warfare and coastal defence against the pirates, Dacca provided a most convenient base.

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The system of sounding the depths of the rivers to be traversed by the invading fleet played a very important part in the Mughal naval strategy. In the course of their naval expeditions, a number of small boats called 'Khelna-boats" by Mirza Nathan were despatched in advance to sound the depths of the rivers so that the progress of the fleet might not be hampered. This system might be called the origin of the pilot system of the latter days. Wherever the water was found to be shallow and hence impassable for the boats, canals were dug with the help of labourers accompanying the fleet and the fleet was diverted to the canals.

In the campaigns in lower Bengal, the co-operation between the land army and the navy constituted another important feature of the Mughal naval strategy. No attack was delivered generally on the enemy's posts unless there was a perfect understanding between the land army and the fleet. The Mughal encounters with Musa Khan, Raja Pratapaditya and the Maghs bear testimony to this point. As the main strength of the Bhuiyas and the Maghs depended on their war-boats and naval stations, it was the constant care of the Mughals to follow the water-routes and seize the naval posts of the enemy one after another till the capital of the enemy was reached. Islam Khan's attacks on Musa Khan and Pratapaditya and Shaista Khan's attack on Chittagong well illustrate this point. As a matter of fact, wherever in the eastern and south-eastern tracts of Bengal, the Mughals launched attacks by land without naval support, they courted failures and sometimes disasters. Qasim Khan's (1614-17) and Ibrahim Khan's (1617-23) Chittagong expeditions by land routes may be mentioned in this connection.

The Mughal rulers of Bengal paid serious attention to the protection of the coastal region against the depredations of the Magh-Feringi pirates. There were two routes taken by the Maghs in their raids on East Bengal. "When they started from Chittagong to ravage Bengal they skirted the imperial frontier post of Bhulua on their right and the island of Sondip on the left and reached the village Sangramgarh at the southern apex of the delta of Dacca and the then junction of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges; from this place, they sailed up the Ganges if they wished to plunder Jessore, Hughli and Bhusna or up the Brahmaputra if Vikrampur, Sonargaon and Dacca were their objectives" (*Fathiya*). The two grants 'Nawara jagir' and 'Omler-Ahsham' "were appropriated for the maintenance of troops and artillery for the defence of the forts on the sea coasts" (Taylor—*Topography*). Ibrahim Khan (the Mughal Governor—1617-21) strengthened the fortifications of the frontier thanas and stationed a division of fleet for the safety of the pargana of Phuldhubi (in the Faridpur Dist.) He took special care to strengthen the hands of the faujdars at Jessore and Dakhin-Shahbazpur, an island near the mouth of the Meghna, by stationing a fleet of 60 and 600 war boats respectively at their disposal. Although the Governor raised the number of imperial war-boats to 4000/5000 and strengthened the naval posts in the river Meghna, he could not well protect the frontiers against the ravages of the pirates. "Matters came to such a pass that the

Governor of Dacca confined his energies to the defence of that city alone and the prevention of the coming of the pirates fleet to Dacca and stretched some iron-chains across the 'nullah' of Dacca and set up some bridges of bamboos on the stream of the city" (Sarkar—*Studies in Mughal India*). To guard against the incursions of the Maghs, Mir Jumla raised several naval posts about the confluence of the Lakhiya and Ichhamati and constructed a number of good military roads and bridges in the neighbourhood of Dacca. In the time of Shah Jahan a naval fort was built by the admiral of Bengal Nawara at the junction of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The mingled stream, after passing by Bhulua and Sondip, falls into the sea. The fort was called Sangramgarh after the name of the admiral. Regarding the importance of this naval fort, Talish writes, "If a fort were built here and stored with weapons, munitions and materials of defence, and a large force and well-equipped flotilla kept here, the oppression of the pirates and the raids of the Maghs into Bengal could most probably be prevented" (*Fathiya*). In the time of Aurangzeb, the Bengal Governor Shaista Khan turned Sangramgarh into a strong naval base. He garrisoned a powerful land army in the fort and ordered Abul Husain, the Mughal admiral, to post himself there with 300 war-boats with the object of "patrolling the rivers and watching over the movements of the pirates." Another naval base was opened at Dhapa (6 miles south-east of Dacca) where another admiral was posted with 100 ships "with orders to reinforce Abul Husain whenever he heard of the coming of the pirates" (*Ibid*). At the same time a highway was built to connect Dacca with Sangramgarh. Although the conquest of Chittagong in 1666 broke the nest of the pirates, the depredations of the pirates continued on smaller scales till 1772.

It is to be noted that inspite of defects, the naval strategy and naval force of the Mughals, superior to that of their enemies, ultimately accounted for their success in Bengal.

ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF CHAUTH AS MARATHA INSTITUTION

[*Summary*]

N. F. HINGORANI

The Portuguese subjects of Daman used to pay a contribution to the Raja of Chauthai from which the name "Chauth" has been derived.

The payment of Chauth did not involve the acknowledgement of supremacy of chauth-collector. It was merely the purchasing of a person or power who had some nuisance value. In fact it was remuneration paid for performance of certain police duties. At one time it was called an impost, at another time a pension, but it was never styled as a tribute.

Thus in the hands of Shivaji, the payment of chauth merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers but did not impose upon Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the districts from foreign invasion or internal disorder.

The land under Chauth cannot, therefore, be rightly called "*the Sphere of Influence*".

Shahu received as a pension what Shivaji had demanded as tribute and what Shivaji had offered as a favour, Shahu undertook it as an obligation.

Although Shivaji demanded one fourth of the revenues of the districts, it is quite possible that in actual practice, he was satisfied with much less. While the Marathas exacted chauth on a wide scale, the practice was in no way confined to them also.

There is no doubt that the system of chauth carried with it the seeds of the decay, although for a time it conduced to the rapid spread of the Maratha power.

WAS PADMINI A MERE FIGMENT OF JAYASI'S IMAGINATION ?

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Dr. K. R. Qanungo tells us that he has come to the conclusion that "there is not even tolerably reliable evidence of the existence of Padmini as a historical personage of flesh and blood, and that Padmini was purely a creation of Jaisi, whose literary genius practised a bluff on credulous chroniclers and the Bhats of Mewar of later times." We have dealt elsewhere with the general question of the historicity of Padmini. Here we merely prove that Padmini was known to Indian literature and the Padmini episode was a topic of popular knowledge before Jayasi incorporated it in the *Padmavat* and gave it a meaning of his own.

My friend, Sri Agar Chand Nahata, has recently edited the *Chhitai-Charita* and sent me its advance copy for a note on Padmini. The date of its composition is given as the seventh day of the bright half of Asadha, V. 1583.[1] In other words the book was written in 1526 A.D., *i.e.*, 14 years before Jayasi's *Padmavat*. At that time Sarangpur was being ruled by Salahadi,[2] who is known from other sources to have died in 1532 A. D.[3]

In the *Chhitai-charita,* Alauddin is represented as speaking to Raghochetana as follows:—

"The *raja* does not do what I say. He neither offers his daughter, nor does he give up the fort. He neither attends on me, nor does he read the *khutba.* Day and night he fights and leads raids. Samarasimha has got out and gone to some other place. This has come as a great shock to me. I went to Ranthambhor to get Devala(devi). But in nothing did I succeed."

The ruler of Dhili (Delhi) added further, "I heard of Padmini at Chitor. I went (there) and made Ratanasena my captive. But Badala managed to free and take him away. If I do not succeed in having Chhitai this time, I shall sacrifice my head at Devagiri."

Whether we believe or disbelieve the historicity of the events described in the above lines, one going through the lines quoted above, first penned 14 years before the composition of the *Padmavat,* has a right to conclude that the Hindus of Jayasi's time and probably also of the generation preceding him had no high opinion of Alauddin's character and held that his passion for women had made him attack Ranthambhor, Chitor as well as Devagiri. Political motives must indeed have been there; but popular fancy made little of them. It was only the romance associated with them that lived on. One writer made use of it in his *Chhitai-charita.* Another, who was more of a poetic genius, also made use of it, but in his hands it got transmuted into something, which in the absence of the knowledge of earlier writings on the subject has made even such a circumspect writer as Dr. Qanungo to declare that "Padmini was purely a poetic creation of Jaisi." He did not keep in view the fact that arguing from silence is logically fallacious and a hypothesis reached on the basis of mere silence might prove wrong some day.

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[1] *Pandrah-sai ru tirasi mata/kacchuvak suni pacchali bata//10||sudi Asadh sataim tithi bhai//katha Chhitai jampan lai//*

[2] *Mahanagari Sarang-puri bhalau/tihim puri Salahdin jamgalau//8//*

[3] *Sikandari,* pp. 174-176; *Tabaqat.,* III, pp. 366-67; Briggs, IV, pp. 121-22. The references are by Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau.

GHUNYAT-UL-MUNYA—THE EARLIEST PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT ON INDIAN MUSIC

(MRS.) KURSHEED N. HASAN

The earliest known Persian work on Indian music is the *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* or the 'Pleasure of Desire', composed in *circa* 776 A.H./1374-75. Only one copy of the work is known to exist in the India Office

London.[1] Unfortunately this manuscript is incomplete, the first folio and the last four *fasl* (sub-section) are missing. The name of the author is not known either. However, from the style of writing—early *naskh*—the manuscript appears to have been transcribed not long after the composition of the work.

Since this important work has not yet been utilised by scholars, an attempt has been made in this paper to introduce it and to highlight some of its special features, without giving the technical details and discussions contained in the book.

In his preface (ff. 1b-4a), the author refers to Sultan Firoz Shah as the reigning sovereign and then to his patron, Malik Shams-ud-Din Ibrahim Hasan Abu Raja,[2] at whose instance the work was composed. He states that he had served under Malik Shams-ud-Din for many years, and owed to the latter's patronage his own education and training.

Discussing the circumstances in which this book was written, the author says that in 776 A.H/1374-75, Malik Shams-ud-Din Abu Raja was appointed to the Governorship (*Niyabat*) of Gujarat and undertook the administration of that territory. Since he had been connected with the Imperial Court for years, he was able to base his administration on the traditions of the *Sharia*, on statesmanship and on the laws of equity and justice. As a result, his rule brought prosperity and happiness to the common people. When he felt the strain of hard work, he found relaxation in listening to Persian *sama* and Hindui *sarod*. Sometimes, when his companions would enquire from him the meanings of complex couplets, he would expound with great elegance on their significance. On other occasions, he would elaborate with great ability on the intricacies of music.

Seeing the ignorance of his companions about music, Malik Shams-ud-Din asked the author to undertake a work in elaboration of the intricacies of music. The author thereupon decided to write a book on music. His patron had brought together at his court, from far and near, numerous experts of the Hindui language, groups of singers and musicians, players of different instruments and exponents of various forms of music. Apparently the author consulted them for his work. The following standard books composed by Indians were also made available to the author: *Bharata, Sangit Ratnakar, Sangit Ratnawali, Sangit Binod, Sangit Mudra, Satanak* and *Raga Aranva.*[3]

Since the author had previously translated from Arabic into Persian *Farid-uz-Zaman fi Marafat-i-Ilhan*, he did not discuss Persian music in the book, but confined himself to an exposition of Indian music.

According to the detailed table of contents given in the preface, the work comprises two *Qism*, four *Bab* and eighteen *Fasl*.

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[1] I.O no. 1863 (Ethe 2008); ff. 92; size 20×12, 15×9 cm.; 13 lines per page Headings in red. Many illustrations of instruments. Photostat copy in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

The manuscript is accurately transcribed in clear *naskh* and diacritical marks have been given on most Hindi words and technical terms.

2. Malik Shams-ud-Din Ibrahim Hasan belonged to the Abu Raja clan. He was the brother's son of Malik Mujir Abu Raja, who held an *iqta* in Doab near Delhi during the reign of Sultan Muhammad. Malik Mujir was killed in 1350 under the orders of Malik Kabir Qubul who held the charge of Delhi while the Sultan was pursuing Taghi to Thatta. The name of Shams-ud-Din's father is not mentioned but according to *Ghun. Mun.* he also seems to have been a malik. Malik Shams-ud-Din served for a time in the *diwan-i-wizarat* under Firoz and apparently accompanied the Sultan during the Jajnagar expedition in 1369-70. In 1370-71, he was appointed *naib* of Sarhind and erected the fort of Firozabad. On the death of Zafar Khan of Sonargaon in 1371-72, the latter's son, Darya Khan, also entitled Zafar Khan, was appointed *muqta* of Gujarat. In 1374-75 Malik Shams-ud-Din was appointed as his *naib* and *de facto* administrator.From the account of *Ghun. Mun.* it appears that at the time he was looked upon as one of the principal nobles of the realm. In 1376-77, as a result of an intrigue, he was replaced from the government of Gujarat. In 1381-82, he was appointed *mustaufi-i-mumalik* and given the title of *Zia-ul-Mulk*. He rose so much in the Sultan's favour that he began to dominate the entire administration, even overshadowing the Wazir, Khan-i-Jahan. His strictness in financial matters earned him the enmity of many nobles, including the Wazir. Ultimately, in 1383-84, he was dismissed of many offices on charges of bribery and corruption, especially relating to the period he was Governor of Gujarat. His property worth 80,000 *takkas* was confiscated and he was subjected to torture for about six months and banished. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Firoz Shah, he was recalled but died soon after. He was a great scholar, a fluent speaker, a facile writer and a poet.
   Afif: *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Bib. Ind.*, pp. 451-92, 497-98.
   Yahya: *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Bib. Ind.*, pp. 130-32, 146-47.
   cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, whose account is based on Yahya.
   cf. also Commissariat: *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, p. 45, wherein Shams-ud-Din Abu Raja is wrongly referred to as Shams-ud-Din Answar Khan.
3. The transliteration of Hindi terms is based on the rendering in the manuscript. The accepted Sanskrit form has been avoided so as to give an idea of the pronunciation as known to the author.

SOME FRESH DOCUMENTATION OF MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA AND FURTHER INDIA

E. R. HAMBYE

[*Summary*]

Our knowledge of the state of Christianity in late Ancient and early Medieval India (8th-15th centuries) is rather very limited. More documentation is wanted, and the paper actually deals with some texts which had not been given right attention up to now.

According to the main testimony in Arabic of an Armenian writer of the 13th century Quilon was then the main Christian centre of the south-west coast. Together with this notice some old and fresh material is gathered on the presence of Christians in North Konkan, Gujarat and perhaps in the Indus Valley.

Thanks to the same important witness, we are informed of Christian expansion as far as the island of Sumatra. It is apparently the first time that this is revealed.

It has to be emphasised that these Christian communities of the 12th-13th centuries, both in India and in further India, belonged to the once powerful East-Syrian Church, the centre of which was in present Iraq.

SATI IN VIJAYANAGARA

SRIMATI SAROJINI DEVI

[*Summary*]

This article endeavours to study the institution of Sati or the practice of burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands in Vijayanagara. This hideous custom, which was not enjoined by early Hindu canonical writers and goes against the Hindu view of life, seems to be more prevalent in the fourteenth century than any other period of Vijayanagara history. The existence of the institution in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is also proved by the evidence of the foreign travellers like Nuniz, Caesar Frederick and Barradas. A comparative study of their accounts has been attempted.

One of the earliest instances of Sati in Vijayanagara is in the reign of Hariyappa Odeyar in 1354 A.D. A case of Sati even among the Lingayats recorded in an epigraph dated 1417 A.D. in the reign of Deva Raya is an interesting feature of the growing popularity of the custom in the fourteenth century. The rite prevailed most among the warrior classes Gaudas and Nayakas.

The concluding part of the article investigates the probable causes of the popularity of this inhuman custom.

SRI SANKARDEV AND ASSAMESE CULTURE

K. N. DUTT

[*Summary*]

The article sums up the contributions of Shri Sankardeva (1449-1567) to Assamese culture. Shri Sankardeva was a Vaishnavite teacher inspired by the Bhakti Movement. His Suttras or monasteries still flourish. His bhatima and kirtan are still sung and his Kirton-ghosa, an Assamese classic, venerated in every household. He was the founder of the Assamese Bhowna or popular dramatic show and he wrote one-Act plays or Ankia-Nats on religious themes.

GENERAL APPEARANCE AND LAY-OUT OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN TOWNS

ISHWAR PRAKASH

[*Summary*]

The lay-out of the medieval Indian towns depended upon their location, and the requirements of security and defence. A close study of the lay-out of the towns reveals that they were not planned but grew in a haphazard way.

Towns were generally built on high ground and on the bank of a river, after strongly fortified by walls and ditches. The most important feature of a capital town was the royal enclave. The residences of the upper class were generally located along the banks of the river. A city was divided into different wards, 'Puras' and 'Mohallas' generally founded by some noble and named after him. Not far off from the fort was the heart of the city, consisting of commercial establishments, offices, *caravansarais* etc. Some localities were named after the industry or craft carried on there.

AVAILABLE WORKS OF BAYAZID ROSHANAI

ATHAR ABBAS RIZAVI

The present studies of the Roshanaiya or the Roshaniya movement, which was started by Bayazid Ansari of Kaniguram situated in the heart of Mahsud Waziristan, in the upper Baddar Valley, are mainly based on a brief account of the movement given in *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, drawn from the works of Bayazid and the researches of Dr. Leyden and Major Raverty. These researches are based on the works of the opponents of Bayazid, those of Akhund Darewza in the main. The followers of the Roshanaiya movement kept the works of their Masters concealed on account of the persecution of their enemies and neither Dr. Leyden[1] in the early nineteenth century nor Olaf Caroe[2] in very recent times could procure Bayazid's works. Except a Pashto version of *Khair-ul-Bayan* belonging to E. Denison Ross and noticed by G. Morgenstierne Oslo in the *New Indian Antiquity*[3] none of the works of Bayazid is mentioned in the catalogues of the manuscripts in the libraries of Europe and Asia. The following works of Bayazid are, however, available in Aligarh and Rampur:—

1. *Sirat-ul-Tauhid* in Persian, available in the Raza Library Rampur.[4]
2. *Hal Nama* in Persian available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library, Aligarh.

3. *Khair-ul-Bayan* in Persian, available in the Raza Library Rampur.
4. *Maqsud-ul-Mominin* in Arabic available in the Raza Library Rampur.

Another work of Bayazid, *Khair-ul-Talibin* is not apparently available anywhere.[5]

Sirat-ul-Tauhid

Sirat-ul-Tauhid[6] is one of the unknown works of Bayazid who is said to have sent it to Akbar through one of his *Khalifas* Daulat Khan. It is said that the emperor received the work with due regard and dignified the *Khalifa* with a robe of honour. This work is available in Raza Library Rampur and does not appear to have been noticed in any of the published catalogues of the manuscript libraries in Europe and Asia. It has not been divided into chapters but the subject-matter may broadly be classified into the following sections:—

1. Autobiographical portion
2. Main teachings of Bayazid
3. A treatise (*Risala*) in the form of a long letter addressed to the contemporary rulers.

The autobiographical portion is mixed up with his main tenets in the text and is quite brief. It deals with his parentage, early education and quest for *Pir-i-Kamil,* his journey to Qandahar, then under Bairam Khan who ruled on behalf of Humayun and the atrocities of the latter on the people of Caravan, his return to his homeland where he spent five years in seclusion. All through this work, he has pointedly emphasised the need of a perfect guide or *Pir-i-Kamil* whom he considered indispensable for the attainment of *Tauhid,* a stage reached by the prophets and *Walis* only. *Shariat* he regarded as the earliest stage for a seeker to attain in the beginning, but the seeker was advised not to be contented with that, for the Prophets and *Walis* also had reached the stage of *Tariqat* only after crossing that of *Shariat,* and had submerged *Shariat* in *Tariqat.* In this stage the seeker was expected to acquire the knowledge of heart and to yearn for the obedience similar to that of the angels which emanated from the right side of the heart.[7]

In the *Risala* (treatise) to the rulers[8] he struck a note of warning to them to shun the habits of Satan, *Kafirs, Mushriks*[9] and *Munafiqs*[10] and asked them to adopt the habits of the prophets, true and sincere believers so that they might proceed towards light (*Roshanai*) from darkness (*Tariki*). Emphasising the superiority of wisdom he informed them that wherever 'divine worship' or 'worshipper' was mentioned in the *Quran* the real word meant was *Marifat* and those who had attained it. To the kings and their nobles he wrote, "The path of *Tauhid* is not confined to any particular direction and if any one considered it to be the same he would become *Kafir.* The path of *Tauhid* is straight and is within the heart of human beings. Obedience to perfect guide means obedience to Prophet (Muhammad) and obedience to Prophet

(Muhammad) amounts to obedience to God. Obedience to God is obedience to the injunction to follow the right path and this is obligatory to all human beings."[11]

The contemporary saints and *Walis* came in for severe criticism in this treatise and he accused them of having adorned the shop of fraud and deceit. Defining *Ulma-i-Akhrat* he remarked, "They tread the path of God, have an insight into the truth of every affair and are physicians of the ailing heart. A true *Alim* stands on his own intrinsic truth and does not depend on the people for being called an *Alim*[12].

Hal Nama

Hal Nama is an autobiography of Bayazid Roshanai.[13] The flyleaf of the manuscript of the work available in the Subhanulla collection of manuscripts in the Aligarh Muslim University Library ascribed it to Bayazid Bustami[14] and it was entered in the printed hand-list of the manuscripts of Subhanulla collection as the work of the latter.[15] The manuscript available in Aligarh is not a copy of the original *Hal Nama* but is a corrected and amplified version of the same. The compilation was made by Ali Muhammad son of Abu Bakr Qandahari at the request of his friends who pointed out to him that the *Halnama* of Bayazid had been 'polluted' by the unauthorised interpolations and since it did not contain the account of the sons and grandsons of Bayazid and their armed struggle against the Mughals, he should compile an authentic edition of *Halnama*. In consideration to their request he prepared the present edition in a simple and intelligible language.

The compiler's father belonged to Qandahar and was very much devoted to the tenets of Bayazid. Jalal-ud-Din, who was nicknamed as Jalala by the Mughuls, son of Bayazid Roshanai, had entrusted the compiler's father Abu Bakr to his son Ilahdad who later on joined Emperor Jahangir, attained a high rank and received the title of Rashid Khan, but he always remained extremely devoted to Jalala. He reached India with Rashid Khan and served him very faithfully. Like his father Ali Muhammad too remained loyal to Rashid Khan who continued to enjoy his spiritual leadership amongst the Afghans with whom the real teachings of Bayazid were in great demand. The present compilation of *Halnama* was made in the reign of Aurangzeb. It gives an account of the ancestors of Bayazid, his birth and early education, hostile attitude of his step-mother and brother towards him, his inclination towards religious and spiritual life, quest for a Perfect guide, receiving inspiration for declaring himself *Pir-i-Kamil* (perfect guide) and *Pir-i-Roshan*, his mission to lead people from *Tariki* (darkness) to *Roshni* (light), stages of mystic journey: *Shariat, Tariqat, Haqiqat, Marifat, Qurbat, Waslat. Wahdat* and *Sukunat*, the opposition of contemporary *Ulama* and *Sufis*, his popularity, success and death.

It also contains an account of the activities of Jalal-ud-Din or Jalala and other sons and disciples of Bayazid, their extraordinary success in organising the majority of Afghan tribes against the Mughals and the pitched battles fought by them against their Mughal adversaries at different places and finally, the ultimate end of Jalals. It also deals with the activities of Ahdad, son of Shaikh Umar, a cousin and successor of Jalals, his hostilities against the Mughals, schism in the ranks of the Roshanais, and the separation of Ilahdad son of Jalala from Ahdad and his joining the emperor Jahangir. The accounts of both Ilahdad, who obtained the title of Rashid Khan, and Ahdad the successor of Jalala have been given at some length. The adventurous deeds of Rashid Khan, whose protege the author was, have been given in great detail. The work has thus become an important source for the study of the activities of an important Afghan ally of the Mughals under Shah Jahan.

The compiler claims it to be an authentic version of the *Halnama* of Bayazid. The earlier portion of the work dealing with Bayazid's life tallies with the broad outlines of the autobiography of Bayazid available in *Sirat-ul-Tauhid*. Though the work was written in India under the Mughuls still the Afghans' opposition to them has in no way been glossed over and the exploits of the former have been given without any mental reservations. Besides the teachings and tenets of Bayazid which it gives at some length, it explains also the position of Bayazid and his attitude towards different basic religious problems of the Muslims. It also shows that Bayazid, on account of the pressing opposition from orthodox elements had made some compromises to his approach. Formerly he would not salute any one, for he considered every one polluted with *Shirk* but later on he began to wish the people. He declared:—

> "1. I do not claim to be paid visits by Jabrail but I do assert to be receiving inspiration.
>
> 2. I do not claim to be a Mahdi.
>
> 3. I shall henceforward desist from branding all the people as *Munafiqs* and *Kafirs*, but those who have been earlier called by me as *Munafiqs* will remain so in my eyes and likewise all the *Kafirs* also."

This declaration could not however satisfy his opponents and they believed him to be still unchanged at heart.[16] In a series of discussions which Bayazid held with Qazi Khan of Kabul who was deputed by Mirza Hakim to discuss with Bayazid regarding his beliefs, he convinced him that those who were envious of him accused him of claiming himself to be a Mahdi instead of Hadi and Prophet instead of *Wali*.[17] His greatest opponent Akhund Darewza almost corroborating the version of *Halnama* says: "He affected a profound veneration for the *Shariat*, boldly denied the charges of introducing innovations, affirmed that he constantly conformed to the rituals and religious observances and asserted that his opinions had been grossly misrepresented by the ignorant and the malevolent. In the discussions which ensued, he defended himself with great vigour and ability, and extorted the admiration of all the learned ones".[18]

Khair-ul-Bayan

Of all the works written by Bayazid the most popular was *Khair-ul-Bayan*[19] (the excellence of discussion) which was nicknamed as *Sharr-ul-Bayan* (the depravity of discussion) by his opponents. To the question of Kazi Khan in Kabul if he claimed to have received *Wali*[20] and compiled a book titled *Chehl Subyan* on the basis of the same, his reply was, "It is a baseless allegation for I have only said that Almighty has inspired a book into my heart titled *Khair-ul-Rayan* which has forty *Bayans* (discussions). It may be compared with *Ghausiya* compiled by *Ghaus-i-Azam* on the basis of divine inspiration, but the people do not differentiate between *Wahi* and *Ilham*."[21] The work is in the form of questions and answers and was written in Arabic, Persian, Pashto and Hindi.

It is written in a very simple Persian and occasionally the sentences used are incomplete and unintelligible. Like all his other works it too contains profuse quotations from *Quran* and from Prophet Muhammad's aphorisms. The Pashto version of the work is however, of great literary importance. G. M. Oslo says, '*Khair-ul-Bayan* is the most ancient work hitherto known in Pashto, and it is of interest as well for the history of this language, as an account of its being an original work of the famous heretic"[22].

Maqsud-ul-Mominin

Maqsud-ul-Mominin[23] was written by Bayazid in Arabic. It is divided into the following chapters dealing with various questions of spiritual and religious significance.

A study of all the works of Bayazid shows that he laid no claims or pretensions to being a Prophet or Mahdi but only assumed the title of a *Hadi*, *Wali* or *Pir-i-Kamil* (Perfect guide) or *Pir-i-Roshan* and laid great emphasis on *Zikr-i-Khafi*. He declared that *Tauhid* did not mean a formal declaration of Almighty as one without an equal but it was the highest degree of the mystic journey and could not be attained without the help of a perfect guide. He also differentiated between *Wahi* and *Ilham* and claimed, "My *Pir* is Prophet Muhammad in the same way as Uwais was conferred spiritual benefits by the Almighty due to Prophet Muhammad's blessings. *Ilham* is associated with *Walis* while *Wahi* with only Prophets. Those who are incapable of seeing the Lord in this world with the eyes of the heart, cannot see him in the next world".[24] Even the gross invectives of Akhund Darewza contained an indirect suggestion that Bayazid's teachings were based on *Quran* and *Hadis*. He says, "This apostate composed many *Risalas* or treatises, concerning the character of *Pir*, and not only perverted and confounded the meaning of many sacred texts, but also forged in the name of the Prophet, numerous interpolations of the *Hadis;* and as there was then no person in Afghanistan, perfectly instructed in learning and the principles of the Muslim faith and able to expose his errors, these interpolations were received without contradiction, and were even accredited by many who had the character of learned men".[25] G. M. Oslo who had examined the Pashto version of *Khair-ul-Bayan* in 1061 A.H. (1050 A.D.) says, "I have not come across passages referring to transmigration or to the worship of *Pirs,* which are among the chief tenets, of the Roshaniya sect according to Akhund Darewza. But the pantheistic tendency is very much in evidence"[26].

Neither the claim of bringing people from darkness to light nor the emphasis on light is foreign to the Sufis. The various stages of the Sufic journey are known by well-defined terms and the sole object of Pantheistic Sufism is to lead the wandering soul onward, stage by stage, until it reaches the desired goal, *i.e.,* complete union with the divine being. The main cause of the opposition to the Roshanaiya movement lay in the great success Bayazid had ultimately obtained in working up the Afghan national feelings to a pitch that they might successfully meet the Mughul invasion of their homeland. The *Ulama* and the Sufis whom Bayazid vehemently attacked for their worldly-mindedness did not fail to exploit the situation to their advantage and joined the Mughuls in branding Bayazid and his followers as heretics engrossed in darkness.

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[1] Dr. Leyden says, "Having been the founder of a heretical sect, which attained a very formidable degree of power, and was suppressed with extreme difficulty, his works have been proscribed and his army regarded with horror among the greater number of the Afghans, while the adherents of this sect, who still exist, are confined to the wildest and most inaccessible districts, concealing their books, and their tenets with equal care." (J. Leyden: The Rosheniah Sect and its Founder Bayazid Ansari, *Asiatic Researches,* 1812, p. 363). He concludes his article with the remark, "Mohsin Fani the author of the *Dabistan,* appears to have drawn up his sketch of the Rosheniya Sect, from the best authorities, he appeals to persons who were themselves engaged in some of the transactions recorded, and he cites the work of Bayazid himself, which I have not been so fortunate as to procure." *Ibid.,* p. 405.

[2] Olaf Caroe says, "Bayazid himself embodied his doctrines in considerable works of which the best known were the *Khair-ul-Bayan* and the *Khurpan* (?). These once enjoyed a wide vogue but, being heretical, were later banned by orthodox decree. I have heard hints that copies are still hidden away, but since they are regarded in many quarters almost as obscene literature, they have been placed upon an Islamic Index and are extremely difficult to come by". Olaf Caroe: *The Pathans* 500 B.C.—A.D. 1957 (London 1958), p. 203.

[3] *New Indian Antiquiry,* Vol. I.

[4] Some of Bayazid's disciples are also said to have written some treatises on the teachings of Bayazid. Maudud of Sirhind wrote *Maqsud-ul-Talibin* and Mulla Arzani wrote *Mirat-ul-Muhaqqiqin* along with a *Diwan* in Pashto, (*Hal Nama*), Abu Bakr the father of Ali Muhammad, the editor and compiler of *Hal Nama* wrote *Siraj-ul-Arifin,* a book in verse comprising an account, of the wars between Abdad and the Mughuls. (*Hal Nama*).

[5] According to *Halnama,* Bayazid had deputed one of his disciples Yusuf by name to take the work to Mirza Sulaiman of Badakshan. Mirza is said to have asked the *Ulama* of his court to contact Bayazid and study his teachings critically. They returned with a fairly high estimate of Bayazid so much so that Mirza Sulaiman accepted his teachings as is claimed by the compiler of *Halnama.*

[6] The Raza Library Rampur manuscript is undated but it appears to have been copied in the XVII century A.D. in *Nastaliq* within gold and coloured ruled borders, pp. 2-3 are illuminated. It comprises 425 pages with eleven lines to the page size: 8:9″×5:3″; 5.33″×3″.

[7] *Sirat-ul-Tauhid,* pp. 11-12.

[8] Akhund Darewza has also maintaianed that he addressed circular letters both to the learned and ignorant ones. According to him Bayazid made following declaration in his circular letters. 'Come unto me, for I am a perfect *Pir,* whosoever lays hold of the skirt of my garment, shall obtain salvation and whoever does not, shall utterly perish." J. Leyden: The Rosheniah Sect, *Asiatic Researches,* 1812, p. 384.

[9] One who believes in a plurality of gods, a polythesist.

[10] A hypocrite.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 141-43.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 195.

[13] *Sirat-ul-Tauhid,* p. 309-10.

[14] Abrar Husain Faruqui

[15] The present author had utilized it in his account of the Roshanaiya movement contained in his thesis "*Abul Fazl and His Times*", approved for the Ph.D. degree of Agra University in 1949. He had corrected the title of the manuscript and its copy was obtained by some scholars of Pakistan in 1951. Recently Mr. K. A. Nizami has contributed an article on the work in *Fikr-o-Nazar,* an Urdu Journal of Aligarh University (*Fikr-o-Nazar,* Aligarh). It comprises folios and was transcribed apparently in eighteenth century in *Nastaliq.*

[16] *Halnama.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] J. Leyden: The Rosheniah Sect, *Asiatic Researches* 1812, p. 386.

[19] The manuscript in the Raza Library, Rampur was apparently copied in early 18th century in *Nastaliq.* It comprises 137 folios and 13 lines to a page. Size: 8.7″×6.3″; 6.3″×3.8″.

[20] Divine revelation (that specially which Prophet Muhammad professed to have received by the angel Gabriel).

[21] *Hal Nama.*

[22] G. M. Oslo: *Notes on an old Pashto Manuscript, containing the Khair-ul-Bayan of Bayazid Ansari* (*New Indian Antiquiry,* Vol. I).

[23] The manuscript in the Raza Library Rampur comprises 141 folios. The Persian translation of the Arabic text is given under each line. Size: 8.3″×5.5″; 6.7″×2.8″, lines to the page 14.

[24] *Hal Nama.*

[25] J. Leyden: The Rosheniah Sect, *Asiatic Research,* 1812; p. 374.

[26] G. M. Oslo: *Notes on an old Pashto Manuscript, containing the Khair-ul-Bayan of Bayzid Ansari* (*New Indian Antiquity,* Vol. 1).

PROTECTION TO SALT INDUSTRY BY SHIVAJI

A. R. KULKARNI

It is often said that the economic factor was neglected by the Maratha rulers of Maharashtra, Sir Jadunath Sarkar states, "from the economic point of view, the Maratha State had no stable basis, no normal means of growth within itself".[1]

But it appears from the various sources now available that Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha State, did pay due attention to the development of the revenue of the state through land improvement, and encouragement to commerce and industry. It is proposed in this paper to deal with Shivaji's policy towards the development of salt industry in his State.

During the seventeenth century, the Konkan was, economically a prosperous region. Chaul, Dabhol, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Pen, Vengurla have been frequently referred to in the Factory Records as flourishing commercial and industrial centres.[2] Shivaji had established his sway over a large portion of the Konkan area from the Ratnagiri to the Thana district.[3] By 1675, he was the undisputed master of Thana upto Kalyan.[4]

Salt-making was then an important industry, in the Konkan region. There were many salt-pans working in the Thana and Kolaba districts. It was next to agriculture in importance and provided employment to the agriculturists when they were not engaged in the cultivation of land. Salt was exported from these areas.[5] It may be pointed out here that the flourishing salt industry was a contributory factor to the growth of ship-building industry in Maharashtra, as we find references in Factory Records to Shivaji's own salt-fleet.[6]

The salt-industry of Shivaji was not without competition. It had a formidable competitor in the Portuguese of Goa.

Shivaji had fixed the price of salt at a higher level in the area lying between Prabhavali in the Ratnagiri district and Kalyan-Bhivandi in the Thana district.[7] The immediate effect of this price policy was a change in the direction of trade from Shivaji's territory to the Protuguese territory.

Sangameshwar and Prabhavali were the two great marts of salt during this period.[8] But as Shivaji had purposely maintained the price at a higher level, the merchants discontinued purchasing salt in these markets, and proceeded to the Portuguese markets in Bardesh where it was available at a lower price. But the merchants from the various parts of the country had to cross the territory of Shivaji to purchase the cheap Portuguese salt of Bardesh. Shivaji decided to exploit this situation, and instructed his Subhedar at Kudal to impose a higher transit duty on salt brought from the Portuguese territory for carrying it to the Desh and elsewhere.[9] It was proposed that the transit duty should be high enough to wipe out the difference between the price of salt in his areas and that in the Bardesh market. It was expected that as a result of this transit duty, the salt in the Sangameshwar market would appear cheaper to the merchants than that of Bardesh.[10]

Shivaji had ordered the Subhedar to enforce this policy strictly. He held that its negligence would adversely affect the economy of the state as it would result in the closure of most of the salt pans.[11] Shivaji underlines this point of high transit duty in his letter with a view to impressing on the mind of the Subhedar the impossibly huge gain which the Maratha State would obtain. This high transit duty gave adequate protection to the salt industry against its formidable Portuguese competitor.

Shivaji seems to be particularly interested in the growth of this industry. In the first instance, he maintained artificially the price of salt at a higher level and secondly guaranteed market for it by imposing a higher transit duty on the Portuguese salt. He instructed his Subhedar to raise the price of salt further by twelve rukkas per maund.[12] He adopted such a policy towards the salt industry, because he held that this industry of the Konkan would bring huge revenues to the state.

The policy outlined in this letter reveals Shivaji's insight into economic matters. He was always in advance of the age in which he lived. His policy of salt-industry could very well be compared with the National Economic System of Friedrich List, the 19th century German economist.

The difference of price between the Portuguese salt and Konkan salt was an artificial creation of the state to secure certain economic results. The high price did not bring down the domestic consumption of salt. Salt being a necessity of life, people could not forgo its consumption, because its price was high. This high price not only guaranteed maintenance to those who were engaged in this industry, but also gave an impetus to its development. It must have also secured some sizable revenue to the state by way of excise duty.

It was not enough to keep the price at a higher level; the product must be sold at that price. For this he adopted the policy of protection. He imposed a high transit duty and prevented the merchants from purchasing salt in the Portuguese market. As all routes from the Desh territories to these salt-ports ran through his region, it was possible for him to push his products forward.

Thus it is quite clear from the above analysis of Shivaji's policy towards the salt industry, that he did not neglect the economic factor altogether as it is sometimes maintained. Shivaji, it appears from his various policies, believed in strengthening his state economically.

[1] Shivaji and His Times. (Pp. 364-65).
[2] English Records on Shivaji, Part I, pp. 51, 93, 142, 149, 203, 239, 315 (ERS).
[3] Rajawade, Vol. VIII, letter 27.
[4] Imperial Gaz., Vol. I, p. 355.
[5] ERSI, p. 146.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Rajawade, Vol. VIII, letter No. 27.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

SCHOLARSHIP AND PATRONAGE OF LEARNING OF THE GREAT MOGHULS (1556-1707 A.D.)

P. N. OJHA

Almost all the great Moghul sovereigns of India were men of literary accomplishment and refinement, and as such, they patronized learning in manifold ways, e.g., by establishing numerous educational institutions, financing such institutions founded by private individuals, giving suitable financial aid and emoluments to learned and renowned scholars and teachers from different parts of the country and outside and granting stipends and scholarships to the needy and promising students.

Emperor Akbar, himself highly refined and accomplished, was a great patron of education and learning. Besides establishing a number of educational institutions in different parts of the country, he is said to have introduced some new and beneficent principles in the system of elementary education under the direction of Abul Fazl.[1] The main intention of the Emperor in introducing these changes was to shorten the period of schooling of a boy, a great portion of whose life was wasted by making him read many books.[2] The novel method of teaching introduced by Akbar, enabled a student to save his time and energy to a considerable extent and it 'shed a new light on schools and cast a bright lustre over Madrassas'.[3] Badaoni also refers to these radical changes in the field of elementary education.[4]

Besides, the Emperor encouraged and patronized the translation of a number of Hindi works into Persian, e.g., the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Harivamsa, the Singhasan Battisi, the Lilawati, the Atharva Veda, the Hindi story of 'Nal and Daman' and a host of similar other works.[5] Abul Fazl mentions the names of some Hindu scholars who participated in the translation work with their Moslem collaborators, e.g., Gangadhar, Mahesh Mahanand, Kishun Joshi and Bhagawan.[6] Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni refer to the Emperor's patronage of Hindi poetry as well as Hindu poets and writers like Madhu Sarsuti (Madho Saraswati), Madhusudan, Damodar Bhatt, Ramtirth and Adita.[7] Besides these, mention may also be made here of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan,[8] Narahari

Mahapatra,[9] Ganga,[10] Brahma (Brahmadatta or Birbal),[11] Raja Askaran,[12] Manohar,[13] Tansen and Raja Todarmal.[14] All of these scholars and intellectuals enjoyed the enlightened patronage of the Emperor.

Besides some important works written in other languages were also rendered into Persian under the beneficent patronage of the Emperor, e.g., the Memoirs of Babar (in Turki) came to be translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan; the History of Kashmir (in Kashmiri language) translated by Maulana Shah Muhammad of Shahabad,[15] etc. Akbar's interest in historical studies was also very great. He is said to have inspired Gulbadan Begum's charming 'Humayun-Namah', Jauhar's and Bayazid's 'Memoirs', Nizamuddin's 'Tabaqat-i-Akbari' and 'Tarikh-i-Alfi' (the History of a Thousand Years) by Naqib Khan and others whose introduction had been written by Abul Fazl himself.[16] Hundreds of poets and scholars, scientists and artists, painters and calligraphers basked in the sunshine of royal favour and patronage at Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and various other reputed centres of learning and scholarship. Emperor's patronage of men of letters and talents has, in fact, become proverbial.[17]

Emperor Jahangir, who wrote his famous Memoirs, was profoundly well-read in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. His profound knowledge of Persian language and literature and his plain as well as graceful style of writing are clearly illustrated in his Memoirs entitled 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.' A man of wide literary taste, and having intense love for poetry, music, history, geography, architecture, painting and other fine arts, Jahangir was no less interested in botany, zoology and medicine.[18] The Emperor also patronized Hindu scholars and artists like Jadrup Gossain, Rai Manohar Lal and Bishnu Das (who was a famous painter of his court and had been sent to Persia).[19] We also read in the 'Tuzuk' that Raja Surja Singh presented a Hindu poet to Jahangir who was so much pleased to hear some of his compositions in Hindi that he gave him an elephant in reward.[20] Another Hindi poet, Buta or Briksha Rai, is also said to have been a favourite of the Emperor.[21]Jahangir had picked up Hindi and he delighted in Hindi songs. He had himself developed a poetic disposition, and he is said to have been fond of parading his skill in versification even in common talks. His highly developed literary and scientific tastes naturally produced in him a strong liking for a cultured and refined society which probably continued till the end of his life.[22]

Emperor Shah Jahan also was profoundly well-read and highly accomplished. He knew Arabic, Turki and Persian languages fully well. His personal interest, doubtless, lay more in the construction of magnificent palaces and buildings than in founding seats of learning and refinement, yet he did not lag behind his illustrious predecessors in extending his enlightened patronage to the scholars, poets and other men of letters. Shah Jahan's court had become a famous meeting-place of Hindu and Moslem cultures. Literary talents were liberally rewarded by him, irrespective of their creed or status.[23] In the scattered passages of the 'Padshanamah' we get interesting references to the Emperor's patronage of Hindu poets, musicians, artists and intellectual prodigies. In one of such passages we read thus, "On September 14, 1629, Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan brought to the court two Tirhut (in North Bihar) Brahmans. Ten newly composed Hindi (Sanskrit) stanzas recited before them only once, by ten different poets in succession could be exactly reproduced by each of these two Brahmins in the same order; besides they could compose extempore ten stanzas more on those very topics and in the self-same metres......His Majesty bestowed *Khilats* on them, with Rs. 1,000/- in reward for each"[24]. At the Emperor's court, Jagannath Pandit, the famous author of 'Ras Gangadhar', wrote a 'Gadya Kavya' in the praise of Asaf Khan entitled 'Asaf-Vilas' and also another 'Kavya' entitled 'Jagadabharanam', the hero of which is Prince Dara Shikoh.[25] This illustrious Pandit is referred to in the 'Padshahnamah' as 'Jagannath Kalawant' (Musician), where we also find a reference to his composing a panegyric in Sanskrit on the Emperor. The Emperor became so much pleased that this poet was weighed against silver, and the entire amount of four thousand and five hundred rupees was given to him in reward.[26]

The reign of Emperor Shah Jahan almost coincided with what is aptly described as the most brilliant epoch in the history of Hindi language and literature. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influences. He spoke Hindi well, and was very fond of Hindi music and poetry. Among some important Hindi poets who were connected with his court mention may be made here of Sundar Das (a Brahman from Gwalior), Chintamani (from Kanpur district) and Kavindra Acharya (a Brahman from Banaras).[27] The last one is said to have written a very interesting panegyric in mixed Awadhi and Brajabhasha entitled 'Kavindra Kalpataru', in which he speaks in very high terms about Shah Jahan, the splendour of his court and the grandeur of his capital, Prince Dara Shikoh and other sons as well as daughters of the Emperor.[28] Among other Hindi poets who enjoyed royal patronage, in some form or other, mention may be made of Harinath (Harnath), the son of Akbar's court-poet Narahari Mahapatra, Shiromani Mishra and Vedanga Rai. Poet Harinath is said to have received a reward from Shah Jahan on January 29, 1640 A.D., which included a horse, an elephant and one lakh of 'Dams'.[29] Khafi Khan also informs us that the Emperor once gave a female elephant and two thousand rupees in cash to a Hindi poet who recited a poem in his praise.[30] It is also interesting to note that Sundar Kaviraj (Kavi Rai), the poet-diplomat, was very serviceable to the Emperor. He is referred to several times in the 'Padshahnamah' in connection with his mission to the Hindu rebels, Jujhar Singh Bundela and Raja Jagat Singh of Jammu.[31]

In Prince Dara Shikoh the Imperial family possessed one of the greatest scholars that it had ever produced. A profound scholar of

Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit languages. Dara wrote a number of high class books, including the Persian translation of the Upanishads, the Bhagavat-Gita, the Ramayana, the Yogavashistha, a calendar of Moslem saints and various acknowledged works on Sufi religion and philosophy.[32] His enlightened and accomplished court was always over-crowded with a galaxy of Hindu scholars. The poet-laureate of his court was Chandra Bhan, a Brahman from Lahore, who made collection of his letters entitled 'Munshe-at-Brahman.'[33]

Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir' himself highly well-educated and proficient in Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages, was also very much interested in the development and patronage of Moslem education. Having thoroughly mastered the holy Quran and the traditional sayings of the Prophet of Islam (the Hadis), Aurangzeb was also a talented calligraphist. His handwriting in the *'Naskh'* style was exceedingly firm and well-formed, and he exhibited a great energy in writing it. He could also write the *'Nastaliq'* and the *'Shikastah'* hands very well.[34] He founded a number of schools and colleges,[35] and on one occasion he confiscated some buildings in Lucknow belonging to the Dutch and converted them into a Madrassah (or college).[36] In almost all important cities and towns, learned professors and other eminent men of letters were awarded pensions, stipends, allowances and lands, and poor and deserving students were granted scholarships.[37] The Emperor took a very keen and active interest in the education of the Bohra Community of Gujarat by appointing teachers for them and by ordering them to undergo monthly examinations.[38] We learn that Shaikh Muhammad Kramuddin Sadr built a Madrassah in 1697 A.D. in Ahmadabad at a cost of Rs. 1,24,000 and the Emperor set apart some portions of the revenue coming from two villages for its maintenance.[39]

Aurangzeb also possessed some knowledge of Hindi, and he could talk and recite popular sayings in this language.[40] But the latter half of his reign and the beginning of the 18th century, doubtless, formed a period of decline in the history of Hindi literature. While the number of Hindi poets still continued to be great, there were practically no names of such outstanding importance as those who had flourished in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and to a considerable extent, also of Shah Jahan. In spite of this, however, we learn that Aurangzeb patronised, directly or indirectly, a number of Hindi poets and scholars like Birdas, Bhushan, Brinda and a host of others.[41] The Emperor's patronage was extended also to some Hindu scholars of Persian language and literature like Wamat Khattri, Rai Brindaban, the son of Rai Bihari Mal, and Ishwardas Nagar of Pattan in Gujarat who wrote a book entitled "Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri."[42] Bhimsen, a Saxena Kayastha of Burhanpur, wrote a very valuable contemporary history of Aurangzeb's reign entitled "Nuskha-i-Dilkhusha"[43] and Sujan Rai Khattri wrote two famous works entitled 'Khulasat-ul-Twarikh' and 'Tofahtul-Hindi' for the study of Prince Alam Shah.[14]

Thus, we find that practically all the great Mughal sovereigns, during the period under review, were accomplished scholars and lovers of refinement and intellectual pursuits, and they also patronized scholarship and learning in the best possible manner under the existing conditions of the times in which they lived and flourished.

[1] Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 288-289.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[4] Badaoni, II (Lowe), p. 316.

[5] Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 110-13. For the translation of the Mahabharata into Persian refer also to Badaoni, II (Lowe), p. 330. For the translation of the Singhasan Battisi also refer to *ibid.*, p. 186. He informs us that a copy of this work was kept in the Imperial Library. For Akbar's patronising the translation of the holy books of the Hindus refer to Badaoni, II (Lowe), p. 329.

[6] Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 110-13; *Islamic Culture*, October 1939, p. 409.

[7] Ain, I (Bloch.), p. 608. Also refer to Pandit Ramchandra Shukla's "Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas', pp. 47, 178, 186, 187, 197, 199-203, 205, 215-16, 409-10, 420, 501 etc.

[8] A. N., II (Bev.), pp. 203-04. Ain, I (Bloch.), p. 360. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, (R. & B.), pp. 147, 151, 178, 221 & 222, II (R. & B.), p. 194; Maasir-i-Rahimi by Abdul Baqi, II, pp. 555-56 & 561; Rahim Ratnavali (Mayashankar Yagnik, 1985 V. S., p. 75); Khen Khanamah by Munshi Devi Prasad, 1966; V. S., Part II, p. 105; Shukla, Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas, pp. 127, 128, 145, 197-98, 203 & 216-20; Keay, Hindi Literature (1933), p. 33.

[9] A. N., II (Bev.), pp. 282-83; Keay, Hindi Literature (1933), p. 33; For Narahari's verses refer to the Appendix (pp. 309-33) in 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi' (Lucknow University, 2007 V.S.); Shukla, Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas, Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, pp. 197 & 199.

[10] 'Shiva Singh Saroj', p. 53; Keay, p. 33; For his verses refer to 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi', Appendix, pp. 419-47; Shukla, pp. 107, 203-5 & 420.

[11] Raja Birbal (also known as Brahma or Brahmadatta) occupied a very important place at Akbar's court. He is especially famous for his witty and humorous remarks and extraordinary talent and presence of mind. Besides, he was also a renowned Hindi poet. Akbar is said to have conferred on him the title of 'Kab-Ray' (Kavi Rai) meaning 'Poet-Laureate' [vide Ain, I (Bloch.), p. 442]. References to his career, achievements and poetic genius are also to be found in Badaoni, II (Lowe), p. 164; *J.A.S.B.*, an article by Grierson, No. 57, Part II, p. 35; Keay, p. 32; Shukla, pp. 201-02; Shiva Singh Soroj, p. 451; Misra-Bandhu Vinod, I, p. 272, poem No. 163; For his verses refer to Appendix (pp. 345-59) of 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi'.

[12] Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 509 & 600; 'Bhaktamal' by Nabha Das edited by Priya Das, 1937, p. 884; Appendix (pp. 450-52) of 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi'.

[13] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, p. 17; Ain, I (Bloch.), p, 554; Keay, p. 32; Shiva Singh Saroj, pp. 472-73; Mishrabandhu Vinod, I, p. 284, poem No. 169; Shukla, p. 2051.

[14] Tansen, the greatest singer and musician of the age, was also a gifted Hindi poet. Refer to Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, p. 413; Mishrabandhu Vinod, I, p. 282; Shiva Singh Saroj, p. 429; Keay, p. 33; Dr. V. A. Smith refers to his friendship with Surdas (Akbar the Great Moghul, p. 422); Some of his verses can be found

in the Appendix (pp. 388-418) of 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi'. For Todar Mal's career and achievements refer to Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 376-79; Shiva Singh Saroj, p. 425; Keay, p. 32; Shukla, p. 201; MS. No. 62, chhanda Nos. 1-4 of the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Kashi; Appendix (pp. 452-53) of 'Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi'.

[15] Ain, I (Bloch.), p. 112.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 113 and also f.n.

[17] Ain, I (Bloch.), pp. 106, 107-13, 115 & 278-79; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R. & B.), I, p. 33; *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 37.

[18] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R. & B.), I, pp. 83, 84, 97, 98, 141, 142, 143 & 155 for his interest in botany and zoology. Also Tuzuk, II, p. 20.

[19] Tuzuk, p. 258.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 229; Mishrabandhu Vinod, I, p. 422; *The Orient College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1931, p. 14; Also refer to Tuzuk (R. & B.), I, p. 422.

[22] For Jahangir's literary and cultural attainments refer to Tuzuk (R. & B.), I, pp. 109, 141 etc.; Hawkin's Voyages, p. 400. Jahangir's Autobiography may be seen in a copy of the 'Diwan-i-Hafiz' preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna; See also *J.A.S.B.*, 1900, pp. 68-73 and *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, pp. 270-79; 'As I have poetical disposition, I, sometimes, intentionally, and sometimes voluntarily, compose couplets and quatrains'—Jahangir's Memoirs (R. & B.), I, p. 228; He talked eagerly on poetry (*Ibid.*, II, 29). 'On Friday morning I associate myself with learned and pious men and with dervishes and recluses' (R. & B.), I, 21; See also *Ibid.*, I, pp. 220, 201, 319, 322 etc.

[23] K. R. Qanungo, "Some sidelights on the character and courtlife of Shahjahan", published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VIII, Part I, 1929, p. 49.

[24] Pad., I, pp. 268-69.

[25] History of Sanskrit Literature (Hindi) by Baldeo Upadhyay 1953, third edition, p. 318. See also 'Mughal Badshahon kee Hind', pp. 30-31.

[26] Pad., II, p. 56.

[27] Dr. B. P. Saxena's 'History of Shahjahan of Delhi', pp. 259-60. See also Keay's Hindi Literature, 1933, pp. 36-38.

[28] Mishrabandhu Vinod, II, p. 453.

[29] Pad., II, p. 177. (Here 40 Dams = Re. 1).

[30] Muntakhab, II, p. 707.

[31] Pad., II, p. 94; III, p. 238; For Sundar 'Kaviraj' also refer to Mughal Badshahon kee Hind', p. 31; Shukla, p. 229.

[32] N. N. Law—Promotion of Learning, pp. 184-86.

[33] Pad., II, p. 98.

[34] Maasir-i-Alamgiri (tr. by Sarkar), p. 318.

[35] Alamgirnamah, pp. 1085-86.

[36] Bernier's Travels (Constable), p. 292 and the f.n. No. 3; Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Md. Saqi Mustaid Khan (Bib. Ind.), p. 529; N. N. Law—Promotion of Learning, p. 188. Also 'Tabsiratul—Nazirin', a MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 158.

[37] Alamgirnamah, pp. 1085-86.

[38] N. N. Law—Promotion of Learning, p. 189; See also Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 377-78.

[39] Mirat-i-Ahmadi (by Ali Md. Khan), I, p. 363, and II, p. 37; We also learn from this author (p. 309) that in 1678 A.D. the Emperor had sanctioned a decent sum of money for the repair of the Madrassas in Gujarat.

[40] Sarkar—A Short History of Aurangzeb, p. 8.

[41] Shibli, II, p. 85; Keay, pp. 42-45; Mughal Badshahon kee Hind, pp. 41-44; Shukla, pp. 254-58.

[42] Sarkar—Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 262-68; British Museum Persian Ms. Additional No. 28884.

[43] Sarkar—Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 251-261.

[44] Bazm-i-Taimuria, pp. 286-87.

NOTE ON SHAJRATUL ANWAR

M. ZAMEERUDDIN SIDDIQI

[*Summary*]

The paper discusses the information contained in the *Shajratul Anwar* of Rahim Bakhsh Fakhri written late in the 18th century. It is a biographical history of saints of the Chishti *Silsilah,* but is reliable only for 18th century saints. The earliest known and complete MS. is in the possession of Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami at Aligarh: it was written in A.H. 1211.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'RAJASTHAN'

[*Summary*]

SURESH CHANDRA

It is generally and popularly believed by many scholars that the word 'Rajasthan' was used for the first time by James Tod to denote the Rajput States in the 19th century, as is evident from his famous book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* published in the fourth decade of the last century. Tod suggests in his book that the words 'Rajwarra' or 'Raethan' did exist before he wrote the book, and the word Rajputana was only a corrupted form of these words. Further, in his famous book, in Hindi, '*Rajputane Ka Itihas*', Vol. I, Dr. Ojha holds the view that the word Rajasthan came to be known only after the '*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*' was written by James Tod.

Recently, I have come across an interesting letter in this connection in the *Arzi Bahi* of Jodhpur Records, which is preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. This letter is in Rajasthani and it was written in the court of Marwar ruler Maharaja Bijai Singh in the year A.D. and addressed to Tukoji Holkar. As regards Rajasthan, it is clearly mentioned in this letter that Rajasthan was a very old country. The original words in the letter clearly show that even in the eighteenth century Rajasthan was recognised by its people as an old country having various Rajput states. Thus it may be pointed out that the word Rajasthan was neither given by Colonel Tod for the first time, nor was it in disuse or unknown before him.

SECTION III

MODERN PERIOD

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. S. GOPAL

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank the authorities of the Indian History Congress for electing me President of the Modern India Section for this session. Such a token from one's fellow-craftsmen is always welcome. I am, of course, well aware that I have done very little work in the field of modern Indian history and realise that this is intended to be a sign of encouragement and by no means one of recognition.

My two interests are Indian history, particularly of the 19th and 20th centuries, and contemporary international relations. The one engages my spare hours, the other I study as my official duty. But which is profession and which is pastime, I would not like to say. I certainly hope, and like to believe, that each helps the other. It is not just that scientific methods of research are the same, whatever the field, or that the anonymity of a government servant strengthens the objective approach. The study of the recent past assists in seeing world problems of today in perspective, while the study of the present trains one to see the past as something alive and relevant. It also helps to get rid of the dangers of hindsight and of undue emphasis on the long run. It teaches that documents and evidence, scanned many years later, can give little idea of the background of uncertainty, the need for urgent decision without full knowledge, the fog of war or near-war, the awkward personal factors, all of which dominate the current scene. Dr. O'Brien, whom we know as the historian of Parnell, and who served the United Nations in the Congo, when asked what influence his diplomatic activities would have on his studies, replied, "It will increase my scepticism as a historian." What he meant was both that no amount of documents, studied years later, will give a full picture of the present muddle in the Congo, and that men function in the gloom, without the clear light of after-knowledge. We can never know all that there is to be known of any historical event; but the converse is also true. The historian knows far more than the actors.

In this connection, I would like to put in a plea for a greater emphasis in this country on the objective study of contemporary history. It is possible, with the limited material available, to make *interim* studies of international relations. Elsewhere in the world, the study of current history is accepted as a legitimate discipline and forms part of the faculties of modern history in the universities. Indeed, there is much to be said for the point of view that one cannot understand the developments of today—not just within countries but even their foreign relations—without a proper knowledge of the past. Geographical factors are unalterable, and national interests rarely change. They even outlast ideologies. One cannot, for example, understand the foreign policy of the Soviet Union if one does not have knowledge of the foreign policies of Czarist Russia. In some countries a degree in history is an essential qualification for diplomatists. It is again significant, but not surprising, that most of the outstanding European contributors to the study of international relations are professional historians. The present incumbent of the Chair of International Relations at London University is an authority on medieval German history. In Indian universities, however, perhaps under the strong influence of the United States, there is a tendency to regard the study of international relations as a branch of political science. But it has always been recognized in the Ministry of External Affairs that research in international affairs is the proper function of historians. To regard current affairs not as a branch of politics but as part of the stream of history induces a healthy sense of scale and proportion.

But the main concern of this audience is the study of the past and not of world affairs of the present day; and I am expected to talk on some aspect of modern Indian history. The withdrawal of the British from India in 1947 presented the historians with as firm a terminal date as they are ever likely to find in history. The period of British rule, with a clear beginning and an end, is in many senses a "closed" period which surmounts a large number of problems of periodization. There is no room any more for self-justifying writing, for partisan and parochial views. For the last two hundred years, apologists and publicists, British and Indian, have had their say; we can now afford to be disengaged, and to advance the frontiers of knowledge by systematically examining the source material without any pre-conceived conclusions. Already the Mutiny has been studied dispassionately; and the axe can be similarly applied to other romantic fallacies that have shadowed the truth. Rarely are students of history presented with an age bursting with data and demanding to be examined with the objectivity that has been made possible by its termination.

The fact that for recent Indian history there is already so much material available cannot blind us to the need for further investigation. It is one of the disadvantages of modern history that one requires an enormous amount of fact before one can start drawing any legitimate conclusions; and ours has to be a generation of search rather than research. The areas of conjecture in modern Indian history are still too great; and a ceaseless battle has to be fought for the acquisition of fresh territory. This battle must move away from the centres of policy in London, Calcutta and Delhi, and be waged in the provinces and the by-ways. We need regional studies, thorough explorations of provincial record offices, examination of High Court and judicial records.

The histories of cities, of newspapers, of business houses and industries and of provincial parties and movements require to be written; and more attention paid to the development of thought and of ideas. If Indian historical studies of the modern period are to be judged by the highest standards of academic scholarship and not found wanting, they have to be raised on the basis of solid foundations, deep as well as broad-based. At present, there is too much of the superstructure.

In addition to the thorough investigation of fact there is also need for a fresh look at the causes of these events. Old explanations have to be re-examined and, if necessary, revised in the light of new data and knowledge. For example, there is need for a re-examination of the whole "drain" theory in the light not only of fresh material but also new conceptual analyses of capital investment and growth. The works of Dadabhai Naoroji, Digby and Romesh Dutt were pioneer works and, considering the state of knowledge and the circumstances of those days, are deserving of the highest praise; but obviously, they need re-assessment today. We require fresh studies of indigo and of opium, of the role of the money-lender in the Indian economy, of the detailed effects of famine on villages, and of British financial policy in the 18th and 19th centuries. Only an exhaustive examination of the records in London and in India can reveal how influential was Lancashire as a pressure group and to what extent its interests prevailed over those of Indian industry. Sociological studies of British India also form a relatively untilled field.

But it is not only in economic and social history that there is room for new explanations and revaluations. Even in political history, there is much to be done. It is frequently said that there has been too great an emphasis in India on political history to the detriment of other branches. This is true in that more work has been done in this branch than in any other. But it does not mean that the sum of knowledge is complete. What has happened is that in political history an undue emphasis has been laid on certain aspects, such as policy-making in London and in the capitals of India. What is required, in the study of causes as much as in the garnering of fact, is a move to the provincial centres and to the countryside. Indian historical studies would benefit from a touch of Namier—the building of conclusions on the basis of wide, intensive, detailed documentation. Namier particularly emphasized the necessity of going behind the documents to the men who created this evidence; and we too would gain much from such a scrutiny of the personal elements. Who, for instance, were the Indians who served the East India Company? Who were the men whom Warren Hastings and other servants of the Company described as "banians", who joined the Company's service and made immense profits? From what section of society were they drawn, and what was their influence on their fellow-countrymen? What was the background of a man like Krishna Kanta

Nandi? Who were the Indians who had recourse to the Company's courts? And who were the men who enlisted in the Company's armies? In the later period, the Namier approach could be applied with advantage to the universities, the municipal corporations, the political associations, and the development of the national movement. It would be interesting to have, say, details of the background of the persons who joined the University of Calcutta or who were the members of the British Indian Association in any particular year. Only then would the history of British India come to life.

Such new facts and explanations will in turn make possible interpretations of modern Indian history on fresh lines. Nowhere is the subjective element more prominent than in the realm of interpreting long-term trends and developments; and nowhere is the subjective element healthier. We are each entitled to our own judgements, values and approaches; and however wrong they may seem to the other man, they always produce something of value. No serious historian today accepts an unqualified Marxist interpretation of history; but we have all been influenced by the Marxist idea, and it has opened up new angles on events. The writing of the history of 17th century England has been completely transformed in recent years by the Marxist approach. Similarly, a careful, detailed examination of modern Indian history from the Marxist viewpoint would doubtless bring to light many significant features and open up new avenues for all of us. Even bias can illuminate a problem.

There are, however, two dangers into which present-day interpreters of modern Indian history tend to slide. The first is what I may call the Whig interpretation of Indian history. The fact that in 1947 the British rulers withdrew from India with goodwill on both sides has tended to colour our approach unduly; and we all are inclined to assume that certain developments were both inevitable and proper. We jump too readily to the conclusion that the strand in British Indian history which stood for the achievement of Indian freedom through the co-operation of the rulers and the ruled was bound to prevail. This is the Macaulay version of Indian history; he foresaw over a century ago the day when the British would voluntarily withdraw, and termed it "the proudest day in English history".

However, while it is a matter of satisfaction that British rule ended the way it did, all of us who have worked in this period know that there was nothing inevitable about it. There were so many factors, such as the two World Wars and the assumption of office by the British Labour Party in 1945, which no one could have foreseen or planned. I stress this need to escape from a Whig interpretation because perhaps no one has been more guilty than myself. I came to research soon after India's attainment of freedom, and tended to glorify the men who had worked for it in the way in which it was finally attained. Ripon and Irwin have been treated more kindly by posterity than by their contemporaries, because history is in many ways the story of the victor. It is, however, necessary, if we are to get a rounded view, to look at the strands that came to naught, at the men whose policies were failures. We need, for example, an objective study of Curzon. He too had a deep faith in India and did what he regarded as best for the Indian people. We need also a sympathetic account of Dalhousie who did so much for the integration of India solely on the basis of administration. Men without political vision cannot on that account alone be ignored. There is room too for dispassionate accounts of the loyalist parties and movements in India. It is in fact necessary for us to devote more attention to the study of those men and ideas who, our hindsight tells us, have been failures. While the historian is the servant of the past, he has always to be on guard lest he become its courtier.

The second danger to which current interpretation of modern Indian history is prone is what one may call the Toynbee virus. For range and grasp of fact, and ability to co-ordinate and synthesize, Professor Arnold Toynbee is today probably unequalled ; and he has done much to make the discipline of historical study attractive to the layman. But Professor Toynbee is not a primary researcher. He is not interested in the open mind, the discovery of fact, the conclusions reached solely on the basis of evidence. The result is, therefore, that he is not a historian's historian. While his works have sold in large numbers among the general public in all parts of the world, greater value is attached by scholars to the annual surveys of contemporary affairs which Professor Toynbee has written and edited rather than to the heavy volumes of *A Study of History*.

But to this statement India is, alas, an exception. Nowhere is Professor Toynbee taken so seriously as he is in this country. Synoptic visions and global viewpoints have apparently a great appeal to the Indian mind. They are, of course, useful in panoramic studies. But unfortunately Toynbee has proved a heady wine in this country, and he is utilized as a guide even in problems which require meticulous, minute examination. The result is irrelevance. I shall give only one example. In a book dealing with one of the leading figures of the Mutiny, which was published a few months ago under the sponsorship of a State Government, the author starts by quoting with approval the following statement:

> "Nationalism is egoistic and prevents the visualization of facts as they are and distorts the truth. History should be viewed in the totality of knowledge, in the perspective of the globe."

The quotation is not from Toynbee, but it expresses the Toynbee philosophy ; and fortified with this quotation, the author in his 600 large pages of double-column type starts with Mohenjodaro and ends with

Mr. Nehru. There is even, in this study of a Mutiny figure, a detailed account of how Princess Victoria received the news of her accession.

However, by rejecting the grandiose, we do not necessarily condemn ourselves to dull, unimaginative obsession with the trivial. If we employ the right tools and methods and are clear-sighted about what we wish to do, we, who work in the field of modern Indian history, have a great and, in many ways, unprecedented opportunity. On the basis of minute detail one could amass evidence and discover causal connections which would throw light not only on the problems of today—on the forces, for example, which made in the recent past for national integration of which we hear so much today—but on the encounter and inter-relation of two great civilizations. It would be a study of imperialism from the receiving end such as has not been done before. It was not Toynbee but another British historian, Richard Pares, who recognized the possibility and the significance of such work. In one of his last articles, Pares observed, "It will be the historians from Asia and Africa who will have the power to prejudice the next generations for or against us."

WHY DID THE NIZAM DESERT THE ENGLISH IN THE FIRST MYSORE WAR?

B. SHEIK ALI

The Nizam's policy in the First Mysore War was very strange from the beginning. Before the conclusion of the Hyderabad Treaty he attempted to form an alliance against the English with Haidar, from whom he had received about 12 or 13 lakhs of rupees[1]. But when Madhava Rao disapproved of this plan, and when the Madras Government made attractive offers which would compensate the loss of the Sarkars by the conquests in Mysore, the Nizam changed his policy and joined the English against Haidar. Having joined them he did not co-operate with them. They did every thing to show their sincerity, but he suffered all sorts of intrigues to go on in his camp. He allowed Madhava Rao to over-run Mysore, while he wasted time reducing his own poligars. On entering Mysore he concluded a separate peace with Haidar, in which the English were not included. On top of all, he entered into an offensive alliance with the power whom he had set out to destroy, and against the power which was his erstwhile ally. History offers few instances of so sudden a change in policy, where an enemy became overnight a friend, and a friend an enemy. What were the reasons for such a change in policy?

The background in which the Hyderabad treaty was concluded offers some reasons for it. The Nizam was not reconciled to the loss of the Sarkars, and the way they were acquired. The Court of Directors rightly observed, "It appears to us very clear that the Nizam Ally never can from the heart consent to our holding the Circars independent of him; and the reason is plain, it is not his interest; he has even refused to put them into your hands, though you offered him a great deal more than perhaps he ever got by them before, apprehending that once possessed of them as renters we might be tempted to keep them as Lords"[2]. It is true that he consented to cede them the Sarkars by the treaty, but what alternative had he, when General John Caillaud was against Hyderabad? The treaty he concluded was a deception "in order to put you from your guard"[3]. The treaty offered Haidar's supporters at his court a pretext to excite his jealousy on the ground that the Madras Government first deprived him of his territories, and next dragged him into an expensive war. Rukn-ud-daula, the Nizam's minister, bluntly asked Richard Latham, Madras Agent with the Nizam, "Pray, have we ever down to this time attacked the English settlements or molested them in their trade? Did not the English first be in encroachments or commence hostitlities with us by seizing the Circars? And afterwards almost forced us into a treaty with them by which those Circars were for ever ceded to the Company."[4] The Madras Government were conscious of this fact when they observed, "Our availing ourselves of the Moghul Senads for taking possession of the Circars in the manner we did must create in Nizam allee a prejudice against us"[5].

The Madras Government's subsequent policy also did much to alienate the Nizam. The instruction of 4 April 1767 demanding the relinquishment of the tribute and the surrender of Guntur were impolitic, for these demands hardly a few months after the treaty, and even before the Madras army joined him, disgusted the Nizam. Rukn-ud-daula remarked to Ibrahim Baig, a commander of the Nizam's and a supporter of the Madras Government, "What dependence can I place on them in future? They have learnt to ask so much even for their desertions; next year they would ask for the Circar, the year after that, Hyderabad itself. What then would be left but shame and poverty? Is it not better whilst the Nizam has troops with him, whilst he has the name of governing the Deccan to try and root out a perfidious friend, or bravely with the empire to lose his life?"[6] Haidar's money and the Nizam's own necessities brought about a change in politics. Rukn-ud-daula told Richard Batham that according to the treaty the Nizam was to recover his dominions in the Deccan, but the withdrawal of their troops would make him lose what he had[7].

The Nizam dreaded the Maratha power, and he dared not prosecute the war after they made peace. The Court wrote to Madras, "What you deem treachery in Nizam Ally is nothing more than his ideas of his own interest, which most probably is, that an alliance with

Hyder Ally will be the best security he can have against the Marathas"[8] It is true that both the Marathas and the Nizam disliked Haidar, but their dislike of the Nawab of the Carnatic was greater, for he was under the influence of a foreign power. Caillaud had secured for the Nawab a status independent of the Nizam, who had now a new cause for resentment.

Lastly, the character of the Nizam influenced his policies. He was unscrupulous by nature. Only the prospects of recovering his territories had brought him nearer to the Madras Government. When he found that the Marathas had anticipated his design, and that Haidar was too powerful to surrender any territory, he adopted the next best course of intimidating the Nawab to secure some advantage. The Nizam was not a man of strong will. He depended too much on his advisers for his policy. They were Rukn-ud-daula, Sher Jang, Basalat Jang and Raja Ramachandra. Except for the first, the rest were not well disposed towards the English. Caillaud had warned the Madras Government, "The part Mr. Bussy had acted arose fresh in their minds[9]. Rukn-ud-daula had confessed to Caillaud that it was to maintain his influence that he had been anxious to retain the Madras Government's friendship[10]. When he found that his friendship was gradually undermined by serious lapses on their part, he made a compromise with the hostile group. Caillaud's estimate of Rukn-ud-daula was that there was in him "a great deal of timidity and a great deal of ease"[11]. Such men do not take long to change their mind.

Thus a variety of factors were responsible for a change in the Nizam's policy. Chief among them were the forcible acquisition of the Sarkars, the misguided policy of the Madras Government in demanding the relinquishment of the tribute and surrender of Guntur, and the Nazam's insincerity. Added to these, the late despatch and the early withdrawal of the Madras troops increased the Nizam's misgivings. The Nizam urged speedy succour, but Madras delayed unduly long. They should have realised the importance of time factor. Caillaud had promised the troops by the end of December 1766, but they did not join before 13 April 1767. Had a powerful detachment joined early, the Nizam would have thought twice before listening to Haidar's supporters. Colonel Joseph Smith, who succeeded Caillaud, rightly observed, "I remonstrated to General Caillaud more than once that their sending me to the Court without a body of troops was doing nothing, for these people are not to be moved with words but force"[12]. Their early despatch of troops before Madhava Rao had over-run the whole of Mysore would have kept the Nizam steady, for in that case his ambition of conquests in Mysore would have been gratified. Therefore the bungling diplomacy of the Madras Government had a major share in the desertion of the Nizam. Perhaps Haidar's estimate of the Madras Government is not far wrong, namely that, "Governor

Pigot was an invincible warrior, and Governor Palk, a profound politician, but this man a great fool"[13]. "This man" referred here is Charles Bourchier who succeeded Palk, and who was mainly responsible for the First Mysore War.

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[1] Boards minute, Cons. 16 October 1766, Mad. Mily. & Sec. Proc. Range 251, Vol. 57, p. 304.

[2] Court to Madras, 4 March 1767, Desp. to Mad., Vol. 3, para. 5, p. 569.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Latham to Madras, 24 July 1767, Cons. 30 July 1767, Mad., Mlyl. & Sec. Proc. Range 251, Vol. 59, p. 630.

[5] Bourchier to Smith, 3 August 1767, Orme Mss., Vol. 76, f. 123.

[6] Quoted in Latham to Madras, 21 July 1767, Cons. 25 July 1767, Mad. Mly. & Sec. Proc. Range 251, Vol. 59, p. 577.

[7] Latham to Madras, 13 August 1767, Mad. Mly. & Sec. Proc. Range 251, Vol. 59, p. 683.

[8] Court to Madras, 13 May 1768, Desp. to Madras, Vol. 4, p. 337.

[9] Caillaud to Madras, 28 Nov. 1766, Cons. 8 December 1766, Mad. Mlly. & Sec. Proc. Range 251, Vol. 57, p. 362.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 363.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[12] Smith to Orme, Middle of March 1767, Orme Mss. India, Vol. XI, f. 3041.

[13] F. Browne, Details of the War with Haider Ali, 23 February 1769, Orme Mss., Vol. 71, f. 40. This statement is endorsed at the end "Hyder Ally".

THE BACKGROUND OF DIPLOMATIC CONTACT BETWEEN THE GAIKWAR AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

SANKARKUMAR DATTA

[*Summary*]

The rise of the Gaikwar as a factor in the stormy politics of eighteenth century India has to be traced back to the early days of the struggle for supremacy in the Maratha Confederacy—The rise of Damajee Gaikwar—His death in 1721—Efforts of Pilajee Gaikwar who succeeded Damajee—Anxiety of the local representatives of the waning Mughal power—Grant of Sirbulund Khan, the Mughal deputy in Guzerat to Peshwa Baji Rao (1729), a stipulation to check Pilajee—Sirbulund replaced by Abhee Singh, a more energetic deputy, Abhee Singh's treachery and the murder of Pilajee (1732)—Murder of Pilajee not attended by the advantages expected—Challenge taken up by Mahadajee, the brother of Pilajee; and Damajee II, the eldest surviving son of Pilajee—Successful retaliation by Damajee II—Annexation of the whole of Guzerat from the Mughals: an unprecedented glory for the Gaikwar power—Damajee II now turned attention to the power of the Peshwas—Support to Tara Bai against the Peshwas—Reverses

for Damajee II: Peshwa obtained advantages over Damajee II—Agreement between Damajee and Peshwa (1752-53): a strategic game for Damajee—Ragoba's rebellion—Damajee hurried to Ragoba's aid against the Peshwa—Damajee's defeat—Imposition of yearly tribute and annual service on the Gaikwar—Death of Damajee (1768)—Succession dispute among Damajee's sons brings the British power into picture.

NOTES ON THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE MACARTNEY MISSION TO CHINA

SANTOSH KUMAR BOSE

Britain's trade with China grew rapidly in the 18th century after the passing of the Commutation Act of 1784. But this trade was subject to many restrictions. Trade was confined to Canton by an Imperial Edict in 1757.[1] Foreign merchants were allowed to transact business through licensed merchants known as Hongs. In 1702 only one merchant was appointed by the Emperor to act as sole broker for foreign trade in Canton. In 1720 a guild of merchants called Kung-hang or Co-hong was organised. It was dissolved several times but in 1760 it was formally recognised by the Chinese government. One of the Hong merchants was required to stand as security for good behaviour of a ship's crew and for prompt payment of imperial dues. Foreign merchants could submit petitions or complaints only through the Hong merchants. The latter owed their position to an official called Hai-kuan Pu, corrupted to Hoppo by the British. He was a direct representative of the Emperor of China and administered the Chinese customs. The rate of customs duties was uncertain. This uncertainty gave rise to evil practices. Foreign merchants were at the complete mercy of the Hoppo and customs officials. Naturally, they wanted a revision of this restrictive 'Canton System', as it was called. Great Britain was particularly interested in the revision of the system. The volume of her trade with China was larger than that of any other country of the West. In 1791-92 the total volume of her trade amounted to Y.5,292,234.[2] Country-trade between India and China too grew rapidly and formed on the average 30% of total British trade between 1764-65 and 1795-96.[3] Restrictions imposed by the Chinese government on foreign trade were naturally resented by the foreign merchants. Moreover, the frequent bankruptcies of the Hong merchants added to the difficulties of trade. The Super-cargoes at Canton came to feel the necessity of sending a mission directly to Peking to secure the removal of these restrictions. A mission was sent by the Court of Directors in 1761 to the Viceroy but it failed to achieve anything. For some time the East India Company refrained from any attempt to secure a revision of the

'Canton system'. But the situation in China continued to grow worse. In 1787 Lt. Col. Cathcart was sent on an embassy to China but his death on the way to China in June 1788 put an end to the attempt. The idea of sending an embassy was revived in 1790 when the Court of Directors came to learn of the proposal made by the Hoppo to send a delegation to congratulate the Emperor of China on the attainment of his eightieth birthday. Henry Dundas, who was the Home Secretary at that time, seized upon this idea in the belief that Peking would welcome an embassy from England. Accordingly, Lord Macartney, former governor of Madras and a seasoned diplomat, was approached and he agreed to serve as an envoy. He set sail on September 26, 1792 and reached Taku on July 25, 1793. He was granted an audience in the month of September and then dismissed. He resumed the homeward journey in October. Needless to say, his prayer for greater trading facilities was rejected. The embassy thus ended in a failure.

The question as to why the mission failed is a vexed one. Dr. E. H. Pritchard in his able study of the Macartney Mission has observed that "it was an ill-conceived....measure" and that "its failure was certain before it left England."[4] According to him Dundas and Pitt were wrong in believing that China 'was not fundamentally opposed to foreign intercourse'. It may be conceded that the idea of 'Universal Empire', which was a fundamental tenet with the Ch'ing dynasty, precluded any dealing with a foreign power on equal footing. But there were precedents in the history of China. Treaties were signed with Russia in 1689 and in 1727. The latter, known as the Treaty of Kiakhta, permitted the Russians to open a legation at Peking and granted some facilities for trans-frontier trade.[5] Moreover, the idea of sending a mission originated with the Chinese themselves. In 1751 the Chinese merchants made a proposal to the British chief at Canton that a mission be sent to the Emperor on the occasion of the celebration of the sixtieth birthday of the Chinese Emperor.[6] In October 1789, the Hoppo made a similar proposal—the occasion being the celebration of the eightieth birthday of the Emperor. The idea of sending a mission was thus not new. As early as 1754, Frederick Pigou, an Englishman, had suggested the sending of an embassy.[7] So Dundas and Pitt merely appropriated an idea which originated with others. The idea was not ill-conceived as such. It appears, however, that Ch'ien Lung was not so liberal in his attitude toward the foreigners as his grandfather K'ang Hsi was.[8] In the absence of any other mode of negotiations, Dundas and Pitt were not wrong in seeking the liberalisation of condition of trade by sending an embassy. Lord Macartney in his analysis of the causes of the failure of his mission adverted to the old age of the Emperor which inclined him to oppose any change. He mentioned the war with Nepal and the misrepresentation of the situation in Tibet by the Chinese Commander Fu K'ang-an. Even though the Governor-general refused to send military assistance to Nepal, his proposal to mediate between Nepal and China could hardly have failed to embitter China. More significant is Macartney's reference to the French Revolution in his letter to Governor-General dated February 28, 1794.[9] According to Macartney, "the Government itself is become, of late, more than usually cautious, since they heard of the confusion in France and of the attempts made by the Revolutionists there, to disseminate their principles everywhere else."[10] Dr. Pritchard does not consider Macartney's observations as worthy of serious attention. But this reference to the French Revolution cannot be brushed aside so lightly. The Portuguese in Macao did not wish that the mission should succeed. Sir George Staunton, Secretary to the Embassy, had learned from the Italian missionaries as early as June, 1793 that the Portuguese were intriguing against the Embassy.[11] Similarly Lord Macartney was warned by a French ex-Jesuit Grammont against the intrigues of a Portuguese ex-Jesuit d'Almeida who was a protege of Ho Shen, the Grand Councillor and the most imporant man in the Empire.[12] It appears that they were responsible for spreading the news of the French Revolution, which must have hardened the view of the Emperor and his advisers against any dealing with the West.

Dr. Pritchard is not wholly justified in disposing of Lord Macartney's view. The Portuguese intrigues and the news of the French Revolution were without doubt important factors that contributed to the failure of the mission.

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[1] Li Chien-nung: The Political History of China, p. 13.
[2] Pritchard: The Crucial Years of Anglo-Chinese Relations, p. 131.
[3] Pritchard: *ibid.*, p. 174.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[5] C. A. Buss: The Far East, p. 99.
[6] Pritchard, *ibid.*, p. 122.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[8] Li Chien-nung: A Political History of China, p. 15.
[9] K. C. Choudhury: Anglo-Nepalese Relations, p. 70.
[10] Sec. Cons. 29 September 1794.
[11] Pritchard: Anglo-Chinese Relations, p. 324.
[12] Pritchard: *Ibid.*, p. 330.

CHINA AND THE ANGLO-NEPAL WAR: 1814-1816

LEO. E. ROSE

The expansion of the Ch'ing Empire to the southwest and the British Indian Empire to the northward in the 18th and 19th centuries brought these two Powers into contact—and potential conflict—on that most difficult of borderlands—the Himalayas. British Indian policy towards this region from the time of the initial wakening of British interest during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings to the revival of British interest in the latter decades of the 19th century is still a question requiring basic scholarly research. How much more is this the case with regard to Chinese policy in this area. While it is true that both geographic and ethnic considerations combined to limit the scope of Chinese-British Indian contacts in this interim period, these were not non-existent nor were they completely lacking in importance. In this paper, I shall attempt to analyze the policies pursued by these two Powers in one of the crises that arose during this interim period—the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-1816, which compelled both Governments to formulate and clarify, to a certain extent, attitudes towards their respective spheres of influence.

For a number of reasons, by 1814 the British authorities in Calcutta were determined to press Nepal into some form of subordinate relationship, either through a treaty or through military conquest. One deterrent to Calcutta's objectives in this respect, however, was concern over China's attitude toward an Anglo-Nepal war, for the Company's trade with China was still a consideration of primary importance in the calculations of the British merchants-cum-rulers in India. The nature of the relationship between China and Nepal was a matter of conjecture, but it was generally assumed that Kathmandu was in some form of political subordination to the Ch'ing Emperors.

To clarify this and related questions Governor-General Moira sought the opinion of two Company's servants with long experience in the Himalayan area, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and Captain Hearsay. Both men reassured Moira on this matter, expressing the view that China would not take "undue umbrage" to the division of the Gorkha Kingdom into a number of petty states.[1] Moira also apprized the Select Committee of Cargoes at Canton of the imminent rupture of relations with Nepal and asked for their opinion as to Peking's probable reactions. In reply, the Company officials at Canton stated:

> '......As far as our knowledge and experience of the character and conduct of the Chinese Government enables us to judge, we are far from apprehending any real prejudice or injury from a display of the power of the British nation, under circumstances of such clear and obvious justification as those adverted to in your Lordship's despatch.'[2]

The war with Nepal finally commenced in September, 1814. A month earlier the Kathmandu Durbar had dispatched an urgent petition to Hsiming, the Chinese Amban at Lhasa, requesting that it be forwarded to Peking immediately. The main theme of this communication was that the British were determined on conquering Nepal in order to prepare a passage for a proposed invasion of Tibet. The Durbar alleged that the British had promised not to harm the Gorkhas and had even agreed to pay 60-70 lakh rupees if Nepal would not impede the advance of the British force on its way to Tibet.[3]

Hsi-ming assumed a sceptical attitude toward this alarmist communication and refused to forward the Nepali petition to Peking. In his reply to Kathmandu he stated:

> 'There never have been hostile feelings between Tibet and the Firangi. The men of the Firangis had never been to Lhasa in the past. For what reason will they now reconnoitre the mountain route to invade Tibet? There seems to be little purpose in this . . . You have also asked us to forward your petition to the Emperor of China who is the custodian of the whole world. The Kings of this world have not yet been able to deposit the treasures of China. It is not customary to give treasures of China to other countries. We Ambans cannot forward such requests. You, Wang, must take good care of the country. If you do so, the favour on you will be continued for many generations. Do not write such requests in the future.'[4]

Despite the discouraging character of Hsi-ming's reply to their first letter, Kathmandu repeatedly renewed its request for financial or military assistance. Ochterlony's defeat of Amar Singh Thapa in Kumaun, and the threatened loss of some of Nepal's most valuable lands led the Kathmandu Durbar to write once again to the Chinese Emperor in June, 1815, repeating, in essence, the contents of their previous communications.[5] The Amban's reaction to this latest appeal was somewhat more hopeful in Kathmandu's view, for by the fall of 1815 the hesitancy previously displayed by Hsi-ming to the transmittance to Peking of Nepal's appeals for assistance had finally been overcome.[6] Ironically enough, it would appear that it was a British communication to the Chinese Government that led to the letters from Nepal coming to the attention of the Chinese Emperor. A British Muslim agent in Tibet reported that:

> 'On the breaking out of hostilities in 1814 between the Honourable Company and the Rajah of Nipaul the latter transmitted several letters to the Chinese Government through the customary channel of the Chinese officials residing at Lassa. These, however, allowed a considerable space of time to elapse without forwarding them to their Court and in the interval a letter for the Emperor of China written by the Governor-General reached Lassa from Calcutta by the way of Rungpoor. The purport of it went to caution him against aiding the Goorkhas in the pending contest and to inform him that similar intimations had been made to the surrounding Rájahs. This had the effect of arousing the Chinese authorities and making them weigh the necessity of imparting to their Government what they had so long withheld from them and until now viewed as a subject unworthy of attention. They

> accordingly transmitted to Pekin the Governor-General's letter with the last of those sent by the Rajah that arrived about this time.'[7]

The reception in Peking in late 1815 of the Nepali and British letters on the origin of the Anglo-Nepal war caused a considerable stir. According to the report of the British Muslim agent in Tibet, the Emperor was somewhat displeased with the tone of the Company's letter, remarking that "from the communication the English appeared to look upon themselves as kings but upon him merely as one of their neighbouring Rajah". The Emperor was even more displeased when the letter from the Gorkha Raja was read noting that several letters had been sent previously reporting the serious plight of the Gorkhas. He enquired of his officials about the number of these letters received in Peking and, when informed that none had been, ordered the immediate dispatch of a military force to Tibet to ascertain the exact state of affairs there and to protect the boundaries of the Empire.[8]

While on his way to Tibet, the general who commanded this force[9] was met by a messenger from Nepal bearing the news that peace had been concluded with the Company. Nevertheless, the Chinese deputation continued on to Lhasa which they reached in May, 1815. The Commander then dispatched a letter to Calcutta summarizing the allegation made by the Nepal Durbar against the British. The Company officials were asked to verify or deny the assertions that the British had demanded "free passage" to Tibet and had proposed to Kathmandu that the Gorkhas pay the British the "tribute" formerly paid to China.

> 'Such absurd measures appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English. It is probable that they never made the declaration imputed to them. If they did, it will not be well . . . . It is probable that they did not. Let them write a suitable explanation to Shee Chanchoon that he may make a corresponding communication to the Emperor, stating that the whole story is a falsehood of the Rajah of Goorkah.'[10]

The Chinese letter to Calcutta, which was received on June, 7, urged an immediate reply, but it was a month and a half before an answer was finally sent. During this period, the Calcutta authorities attempted to obtain a clear indication of the intentions of the Chinese force in Tibet through their newly established Residency at Kathmandu and through their erstwhile ally, the Sikkim Raja, who served in this instance as an intermediary between the British and the Chinese officials in Tibet. The Governor-General's reply, dated August 3, 1816, stated the British case on the origin of the war with Nepal and concluded with the statement that:

> 'The British Government had no views of aggrandizement and only seeks to remain at peace with other states, and no motives of ambition and interest prompt it to extend its influence and authority

> beyond those barriers which appear to have been placed by nature between the vast countries of India and China.'[11]

On May 21, 1816, the same date as that of the Chinese letter to Calcutta, a letter was also sent to the Kathmandu Durbar by the Chinese officers in Tibet expressing the Emperor's "great displeasure" on learning from the Nepali letter that the British had demanded free passage to Tibet through Nepal. The Emperor had ordered them to march into Tibet, the letter continued, and if, "after having investigated clearly into matters, it would appear that the English have acted as you have written, to commence war with and smite them to the death". [12] However, the Chinese expressed grave doubts concerning the veracity of the Nepal version of these affairs and warned that if these should prove to be false "you will receive the punishment that otherwise would be inflicted on the English". The Nepal Government was advised to send a deputation to the Chinese Commander's camp in Tibet in order that Sino-Nepal relations could be re-established on the old basis. Kathmandu's reply, dated June 10, 1816 promised to send some high officials to Tibet but also reiterated the charges against the British and, by implication, renewed its appeal for assistance.[13] The Chinese officers replied to this communication in even more threatening terms :

> 'Not even one of your requests will be fulfilled. We Tachins had made it clear in our previous letter to you when you declared war on the Feringhi. Nor did we ask you when you made peace with him. No soldiers, as requested by you, will be sent...Do not repeat your shilly-shallying. Do not again write your one-sided requests.'[14]

At this point Kathmandu demonstrated considerable reluctance to fulfill its promise to send a deputation to the Chinese officers in Tibet. Possibly fear of Chinese intentions played a part. Primarily, however, this was an attempt by the Kathmandu Durbar to play upon Calcutta's uncertainty and apprehensions over the recent developments in Tibet to effect two objectives: the withdrawal of the British Residency from Kathmandu and the restoration of part or all of the territory ceded to the British in the peace treaty just concluded. In conversations with Edward Gardner, the British Resident at Kathmandu, the Nepali officials repeatedly asserted that the Chinese had assumed a threatening posture toward Nepal—and, thus, indirectly toward the British—because of Peking's displeasure with Nepal's new political relationship with the British.[15]

These blatant fabrications nearly had their desired effect for, at one point Governor-General Moira was ready to make major concessions with regard to Nepal if these appeared necessary to avoid antagonizing Peking. In a letter to Gardner, dated September 14, 1816, the Governor-General wrote that the British Government would ;

> 'Take any step depending on itself which may tend to remove that feeling of jealousy rising from the supposed existence of an intimate connexion between the British and Nipaulese Government which may be a motive of the present conduct of the Chinese. The last observation points especially to the establishment of a British Residency permanently at Catmandhoo, an arrangement which, as indicating an extreme intimacy between the British Government and a State considered by the Chinese as one of their feudatories, may very naturally have given umbrage to them. Whatever commerce and advantage the maintenance of that establishment should produce, it would not be expedient to risk for those comparatively unimportant objects the great interests involved in our relations with the Empire of China and his Lordship-in-Council would be prepared as soon as the questions at present pending with the Nipaulese are adjusted to withdraw the Residency at that Court of its maintenance should really appear to have the effects here supposed.'[16]

Unfortunately for Kathmandu's little scheme, the Chinese officers in Tibet unintentionally set at rest the Governor-General's apprehensions on this matter for their next letter to Calcutta, dated September 25, 1816, was couched in the most friendly terms.[17] Confident now that the Chinese were not particularly concerned over the establishment of a British Residency at Kathmandu, the whole question of its withdrawal was quietly dropped. This attitude was further strengthened by the reception of a second letter from the Chinese Commander in Tibet to the effect that the Gorkhas were alarmed at the establishment of the British Residency in Nepal because their Government was without a "sensible man" capable of advising them while the Raja was a boy unacquainted with the "road of knowledge."[18]

Frustrated in their designs, the Nepal Durbar had no alternative but to send a deputation to Tibet to meet the Chinese officers, which reached the Chinese Commander's camp around the end of September, 1816. The discussions between the two deputations were relatively friendly despite an initial outburst by the Chinese Commander who berated the Gorkhas for their untrustworthiness and stated:

> 'You and the Feringhi have concluded a *gha* (treaty). Both letters agree. When you already have a settlement why do you make more trouble? You must live in peace with others.'[19]

To this the Nepali deputies replied that if the Chinese were not prepared to assist Nepal materially, at least they should furnish the Gorkhas with a letter to the British that would induce the latter to quit Kathmandu. A letter from Bhimsen Thapa was presented stating:

> 'The Foreigner will first enter under some pretext. After thus entering, he will conquer that territory. In this manner he has taken over Hindustan and suppressed the Delhi Emperor. If at

> this time China makes arrangements to remove the foreigners, then the people of Hindustan as well as Delhi will come forward prepared.'[20]

The Chinese Commander, however, continued unsympathetic to the requests made by Nepal and remarked to the deputies that "you have told us that the English entered your country for the sole purpose of establishing there a warehouse and on what plea can I attempt to remove merchants for such people are not molested in any country whatsoever". Dalbhunjun Pande, the leader of the Nepali deputation, replied: "If they were merely merchants it would be of no import but they are soldiers and commanders and what connexion have troops with merchants?" The Chinese Commander, however, refused to accept the Nepali interpretation of the recent developments in the sub-Himalayan region. He told Pande:

> 'The English have written to us that they sent their resident with your consent. Therefore, at what have you to complain? And as to what your Rajah wrote about the English having demanded of him the roads through Bhote with the intention of penetrating into Bootun and China, it is false, for if they had those views they were not likely to go by Nipaul when they have less circuitous routes.'[21]

The interview with the Nepali deputation was terminated at this point. Shortly thereafter the Chinese force was withdrawn from Tibet and these series of events, which have a somewhat ludicrous aspect, were brought to an abrupt conclusion.

While of no great importance in themselves, these events, do shed some light on the fundamental principles of Chinese policy in the Himalayan area as well as on the character of Sino-Nepali relations. Peking's basic objectives in this area may be summarized as involving the maintenance of China's predominant influence in Tibet but the avoidance of interference south of the Himalayas which were recognized as the natural dividing line between the Chinese and the British spheres of influence. The preservation of the *status quo*, in so far as it effected the relative position of the two major Powers on either side of the great Himalayan range, became a regular feature of Chinese policy toward this area, as Chinese letters to the Nepal Durbar in subsequent periods of crisis clearly indicate.

With regard to Sino-Nepali relations the events surrounding the Anglo-Nepal war prove beyond doubt that the Gorkha dynasty was in no form of political subordination to the Ch'ing Emperors. This is most clearly indicated in the Chinese attitude towards the British invasion of Nepal which never was interpreted as constituting aggression against the Chinese Empire. This conclusion is also reflected in the Nepali requests for aid from China for never were these appeals based upon any supposed violation of Chinese territory or that of one of China's feudatories but rather upon an alleged British threat to Tibet.

The precise character of Sino-Nepali relations in the 19th century defies easy classification under modern concepts of international relations but to talk of Nepal as a "Chinese feudatory" is a serious error. At no time did China enjoy any form of *de facto* authority—real or nominal—over Nepal nor did the Ch'ing dynasty ever assert claims of this nature. Misconceptions on this subject were due, primarily, to the tendency of Nepali officials in the 19th century to deliberately exaggerate the intimacy of Kathmandu's relations with China as one method of deterring British expansion to the northward. Unfortunately, British officials in India often tended to accept the Nepali statements at their face value, thus giving substance to this basically false interpretation. Comprehensible in the confusion surrounding the status of the vast borderland area between the British, Chinese and Russian Empires in the 19th century, it is not so today in view of the accessibility of both Chinese and Nepali domumentary materials.

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[1] *Home Series, Misc.*, No. 515, Memorandum on the Origin and Progress of the Nepal War, 30 May, 1816; and *ibid.*, No. 516, W. Buchanan to the Bengal Government, 19 August, 1814.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 516, Supercargoes, Canton to Bengal Government, 5 October, 1814.

[3] Chitta Ranjan Nepali, *Janaral Bhimsen Thapa ka Tatkalin Nepal* (General Bhimsen Thapa and the Nepal of His Day), Kathmandu, Jorganesh Press, 1957, pp. 301-2: text of letter from Raja Girban Juddha to the Emperor of China, August, 1814.

[4] *Ibid.*, letter from Hsi-ming to the Nepal Government, 15 September, 1814.

[5] *Ibid*, letter from Girban Juddha to the Emperor of China, 14 June, 1815.

[6] *Ibid.*, letter from Bal Bhadra to Bhimsen Thapa, 17 April, 1816.

[7] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 3, 11 January, 1817: Translation of a narrative concerning a mission sent by China to Nepal to investigate certain Nepali statements concerning the origin of the Anglo-Nepali war, written by a "Kashmieree" who was present at the interview between the Chinese and Nepali envoys.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] British and Nepali sources refer to the Commander of the Chinese as "Chanchoong", obviously a transliteration of the Chinese term for "General" and not his proper name. No Chinese sources on this series of events are available.

[10] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 17, 13 July, 1816: Chinese Commander in Tibet to Governor-General Moira, 21 May, 1816.

[11] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 19, 3 August, 1816: Moira to Chinese Officers in Tibet, 3 August, 1816.

[12] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 12, 27 July, 1816: Chinese Officers in Tibet to Nepal Government, 18 May, 1816.

[13] *Ibid.*, Nepal Government to Chinese Officers in Tibet, 10 June, 1816.

[14] Chitta Ranjan Nepali, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-14: Chinese Officers in Tibet to Nepal Government, 31 July, 1816.

[15] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultations*, Nos. 39, 41 and 42, 14 September, 1816.

[16] *Ibid.*, No. 43: Moira to Gardner, 14 September, 1816.

[17] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 19, Chinese Commander in Tibet to Captain Latter, 25 September, 1816.

[18] Foreign Department. *Secret Consultation*, No. 3, 11 January, 1817, *op. cit.*

[19] Chitta Ranjan Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 305: Letter from Ranbir Thapa to Bhimsen Thapa, 7 September, 1817.

[20] *Itihas Prakas* (Lights on History), Kathmandu, Nepal Press, 1955-56, Vol. I: Extract from the Chinese letter of Bhimsen Thapa. According to a report from Gardner, Daulat Rao of Gwalior and Ranjit Singh of Lahore had sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor which had been transmitted to Peking through Nepal, while Ranjit Singh had also opened communications with China via the northern route through the mountains. (*Secret Consultations*, No. 13: Gardner to Bengal Government, 8 October, 1816).

[23] Foreign Department, *Secret Consultation*, No. 3, 11 January, 1817, *op cit.*

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM AND INDIAN AFFAIRS

[*Summary*]

NEMAI SADHAN BOSE

James Silk Buckingham was one of the most remarkable Englishmen who did much for India in the 19th century. He lived in India from 1818 to 1823 and edited the *Calcutta Journal* which became one of the most popular and influential English papers in India. For championing the cause of the freedom of the press in India, Buckingham was deported by Government Order in 1823. Buckingham wrecked his fortune on this issue but he remained uncompromising and continued his fight against the despotic Government of the East India Company in India. The Buckingham case caused a stir in England and a Parliamentary Inquiry into the claims of Buckingham was made in 1834. The Committee gave its opinion in favour of Buckingham and his stand was vindicated. Even then he was not allowed to return to India. As a member of the Parliament, Buckingham always advocated the cause of the Indians and the Indian affairs were foremost in his mind. His plan for the future Government of India is a remarkable evidence of his concern for the Indians. Throughout his life he worked for progressive causes and for better relation between the English and the foreigners.

Unfortunately, Buckingham has not yet received the attention of the historians which he actually deserves. The present article gives an outline, within its limited compass, of the great interest taken by Buckingham in the Indian affairs and is based on Parliamentary Reports and other original documents.

BHOPAL'S POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1818-1825)

[*Summary*]

IQBAL KAUL

The year of 1818 has a political significance in the history of Bhopal State. Major Henley, the first Political Agent in Bhopal pleaded for a 'forward policy' which aimed at the 'preservation of the line of succession in the family of Wazir Muhammad Khan'. Immediately after one year of the Treaty of Raisen (1818) the Nawab was killed in an accident. His widow was declared Regent. But as was the fashion of the day, conspiracies, power-politics and self-interestedness developed during the Regency. The group in opposition to the Bhopal Government, consequently, was always treated tactfully by the Company's Government and the cause of the Female Regency was always upheld.

T. H. Maddock, the next Political Agent came to Bhopal in 1824. He vigorously employed his energies to a better adjustment among the rival groups and a stable government in the State. But it was also made clear that the policy of non-interference, on the part of the Company's Government was only admissible as long as internal disturbances did not endanger the British interest in the surrounding country.

NATURE OF THE KOL INSURRECTION OF 1831-32

J. D. JHA

The tribal unrest of 1831-32, generally known as the Kol Insurrection, was a crude form of protest against all the recent changes and outside influences which had badly affected the tribal society. It was a gesture of despair. It was born out of frustration and anger-frustration with the new system of Government and laws, and anger at the people who either enforced them or took undue advantage of them.

The real tragedy of the tribal people of Chotanagpur was that their chiefs, alienated by their conversion to Hinduism and the English administrators, born and bred in the tradition of agricultural landlordism, had no sympathy with the tradition of tribal ownership of land or the idea of peasant-proprietorship. That was why the former brought in non-tribal settlers and the latter a complex administrative machinery run by unsympathetic people. Against these the tribal people found no remedy except unrest and violence.

In the course of their rising the tribal people were guilty of most heinous crimes, of banditry, murder and arson. But they knew no other method of effective social protest. According to Eric Hobsbawn, "Social banditry, a universal and virtually unchanging phenomenon, is little more than endemic peasant protest against oppression and poverty; a cry for vengeance on the rich and the oppressors, a vague dream of some curb upon them, a righting of individual wrongs. Its ambitions are modest: a traditional world in which men are justly dealt with."[1] The tribal leaders were in their own society the equivalent of Robinhood or Rob Roy, rebels against landlords, bailiffs, merchants and usurers who were exploiting the tribal people. If their movements were "blind and groping" that was because they were the movements of peasant protestants, extremely inatriculate, not knowing how to express their legitimate grievances.

Thornton, Wilson and others voiced their belief that the events of 1831-32 were a mere spasmodic expression of tribal people's savagery and propensity to plunder. A brief review of what the tribal people did when they broke out in violence and against whom their anger was directed will show that they were indeed savage in their attacks upon their enemies, savage perhaps from despair of securing justice by peaceful and orderly means. But it will also show that the outbreak was not an unconsidered, spasmodic affair, but one very closely connected with the oppression which they had suffered. The tribesmen had no hope of redress because the police were base and corrupt, the law court *amlas* were engaged in all sorts of illicit gains and the revenue officials tried to fleece them. In the face of this combined system of oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of similar tyrannies, the tribesmen found no other alternative than to make a desperate attempt to escape from this galling situation. Their retaliation, therefore, was as violent and unprecedented as the oppression on them had been.

Thornton described the rising as an orgy of mutual slaughter in which "the hand of every man is against his neighbour."[2] The Bengal Government noted of the rising that "During the whole of its course and progress, though perhaps in a less degree in Palamau than within the Chotanagpur country, the worst excesses attended it. In the latter tract, from one part of it to the other, as the insurrection advanced, the people of the rude tribe of the Coles sacrificed numbers of those who fell into their hands, to their excited passions of revenge and hatred".[3] There was a sort of madness and blindness and they could no longer see the light of reason. The Patna Commissioner, J. Master, reported the rising in lurid terms: "Restless, wild and ferocious, they rushed into an insurrection scarcely paralleled for ferocity and eager for plunder, universally prone to violence and infuriated by real or imaginary wrongs, the whole population yielded to the unobstructed tide of rebellion —fire, rapine and murder marked their paths, nor was their vindictive spirit confined to those to whom their injuries were ascribed, but madly extended to unoffending females and helpless infants with the subtle determination of extirpating the whole area".[4]

A number of cases brought to trial revealed the savage nature of the attacks to which many who failed or were unable to flee were exposed. The commonest feature was the hacking to death of victims who were killed even though they made no resistance. One Dahir Singh was dragged out of hiding, given two sword cuts across his back, two on the neck and finally his head was struck off by a *balwa.*[5] Shaikh Sagar, found hiding in the jungle was carried back to his village and then murdered by blows of a *balwa.*[6] In Thikochatti, a father and son were pulled from their hut, mercilessly beaten, and finally killed by having their heads hacked off with *balwas.*[7] At Tiku, six unhappy creatures, discovered sheltering in a hut were "cruelly and wantonly butchered".[8] In another case a Muslim family of eight, "male and female, one advanced in years, several in the bloom of youth, and some in unconscious infancy", was completely annihilated. The husband of a poor female had a rope of straw twisted round his neck by which he was forcibly dragged from his house and taken to the bed of a river at a short distance followed by his distracted wife. In his mutilated condition the victim was able to exclaim, "You are resolved on my destruction. Kill my wife who stands there weeping". On hearing this one of the assailants cut off the sufferer's head with a sword.[9] Women, children, the aged, none were spared. One woman's head was cut off to be presented to a God, and there were half a-dozen cases of infants and babes in arms being killed.

Cases of treachery and brutality were in fact very common during the unrest. In one instance, a non-tribal family, which had returned from pargana Jashpur after supposed tranquillity, was offered pretended hospitality by a Kol and then the head of the family was murdered in cold blood.[10] In another instance the insidious information being conveyed to a secluded party in the hills, the family began its return journey. But no sonner had a member of the family approached the village than he was wounded severely and the assailants then seizing his arms and legs dragged him to a well into which they threw him and heaping upon him earth and stones thus terminated the wretched man's existence.[11] Hundreds of such heart-rending stories were narrated before the trying magistrate and the sessions judge. It would be unnecessary to include them all in this paper, but it may be mentioned that these stories show the pattern of behaviour of the tribal people. The terror such actions spread can well be imagined, and from the earliest stage those who feared that there were possible victims could be found on the move, carrying off such valuables as they could. Their flight undoubtedly served to set off yet wider movements of non-tribal people, and so to spread the atmosphere of uncertainty and excitement. It also served to rouse the hopes of plunder among the tribal people through whose midst they had to pass and so in places gave to a movement begun as a rebellion against oppression the air of ordinary banditry.

Several methods were adopted by the tribal leaders to spread the rising: 'One was the beating of the *nagaras* or great drums; another the circulation of a '*dheori*' (a branch of a tree, usually mango)[12]; a third was to circulate arrows of war[13] like the fiery cross. The villages, which wished to join those by whom the arrows were sent, were required to return those arrows whole, and those who wanted to oppose them were to return them broken.

The arrows, later circulated, were accompanied by a notice to all foreigners to quit, and threatening messages to those who might remain or offer opposition.[14] The obvious motive of the tribal people was to so terrorize the non-tribal settlers as to make them abandon everything and flee from the whole tribal area.

The spread of the insurrection so quickly and so widely was only made possible, of course, by the absence of any effective check. The result was most shocking. As a newspaper correspondent put it, "Finding so little opposition in their attack, and the soldier's life to be 'a very merry kind of life, if taken smooth and rough', they proceeded from village to village burning and massacring every respectable person, and every foreigner, and forcing every Cole by the fear of instant death, to join their standards. Thus the fire of rebellion once lighted, the flames spread rapidly. The villagers, ever ready to fly to arms, and better themselves at the expense of their less numerous and more peaceable superiors, eagerly seized their bows and arrows, and pursued a course of the most cold blooded and heartless barbarity, in which they received no check until the arrival of the joint Commissioners".[15]

It was a consciousness of the lack of any effective power in the field to check the rebels which caused the unusual alarm. Rumours were at one time afloat that Mirzapur near Banaras to the west of Palamau had been sacked by the Kols, and that the disturbances had occurred at Azimgarh. On 3rd February, 1833 it was reported in the *Meerut Observer* that for the last ten days the town of Mirzapur and the surrounding area was "thrown into fearful consternation" by the intelligence of a body of about 5,000 men being assembled at a short distance, "carrying plunder and rapine before them, and leaving desolation and misery in their rear".[16] The *India Gazette* noted in its editorial column, "from Chotanagpur to the frontiers of Oude there is a general commotion".[17] (Even the people of Banaras were getting panicky lest they should be attacked by the Kols).[18] At one point it was rumoured that the Marathas were also joining the Kols from the southwest. Major Sutherland was probably right in saying that "had the country between Chotanagpur and Calcutta on the one hand and Benares on the other, been inhabited by Danger Coles, the insurrection would have spread to those places".[19]

The question naturally arises, with a rising so widespread and a rumour even wider, whether it was mainly an anti-British rising. Was there a concerted plan to throw off the British yoke? Master, the Patna Commissioner, argued that the Kols, who emigrated in vast numbers to Calcutta and other big cities in search of work, must have been familiar with the British enterprise, resources and power, and, therefore, they could never have thought of subverting such a power.[20] Metcalfe, perhaps voicing the opinions of Sutherland, his Private Secretary, who had personally visited the troubled area, believed, however, that the insurrection really had originated "in the spirit of independence and (in) the belief that the opportunity of throwing off our yoke had arrived".[21] W. Blunt, the third member of the Calcutta Council, however, disagreed with this view. "Though the predatory habits of this people (habits which formerly prevailed more or less in all the Jungle Estates)" he remarked, "may have rendered them ready auxiliaries to their discontented neighbours in Sonepur, but I cannot for a moment believe that either the Coles of Singhbhum or Nagpur could have entertained so wild a project (a project as far beyond their comprehension as their means) as that of subverting the British Empire".[22] He, therefore, believed that they had no design "beyond the immediate gratification of their revenge against those by whom they had suffered oppression".[23] Indeed, it would seem clear that the ordinary mass of the tribal people were ignorant of the complex machinery of the British administration, scarcely knew a British official by sight, and were rising against much more immediate enemies, *thanadars* or salt *darogas*, moneylenders or *thikadars*. Those who would have gained most from the destruction of the Company's rule, the once-independent rajas and jagirdars, did not, in the event, ally themselves with the tribal rebels, and though they would not take a risk and actually support the British officials, they stood neutral. Some, indeed, got the best of both world's; they used the tribal unrest to free themselves from the clutches of the moneylenders, and then carried merit with the authorities by turning on the rebels. The Rani of Patkum was particularly efficient in such double dealing.

So there was nothing so grandiose about the Kol insurrection as a national rising to secure independence from the British. The enemy which was attacked was a more local and particular one: the outsider (Hindu, Sikh or Muslim) who had clamped himself like a leech on the body of tribal society, and the petty and exacting government official. The Joint Commissioners put it succinctly when in February, 1832 they wrote "The whole of the Moondas and Coles, who, we believe, compose about two-thirds of the population, have taken up arms against the respectable inhabitants of the country, burnt and plundered their houses and property, and expelled them".[24] Once the expulsion of the foreigner was well under way, their property was of course thoroughly looted, The unrest was then, in origin, a revolt of the dispossessed, of the helots against their masters. The statements of both prisoners and victims show that the Oraons, Mundas and others made the *Suds* their victims. Money-lenders, merchants and shopkeepers, land-grabbers and tax farmers, these were the people attacked; those foreigners who had been usefully integrated into the tribal economy, the *Chaukidars*, milk men, and artisans were generally spared. Moreover, the non-tribal *amlas* (petty officials) of the Government who had fleeced the tribal people were also attacked. Thus, the Kol Insurrection was mainly a war of the tribal inhabitants of Chotanagpur against the non-tribal settlers and service-holders. The British came into the picture because they tried to oppose the tribal rebels to protect the non-tribal people and to re-establish law and order.

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[1] *Primitive Rebels*, 13.

[2] Thornton, *History of British India*, V, 203.

[3] Bengal Government to Court of Directors, 25 September, 1832, B.C. 1362/54223, I.O.L.

[4] Master to Government, 17 January, 1833, para. 13, B.C. 1502/58893 I.O.L.

[5] Master to Registrar, Nimamat Adalat, 22 October, 1932, Trial No. 7, B.C. 1502/58893.

[6] *Ibid*. No. 13.

[7] *Ibid*. No. 18.

[8] *Ibid*. No. 33.

[9] *Ibid*. No. 104.

[10] *Ibid*. No. 196.

[11] *Ibid*. No. 115.

[12] Master to Nizamat Adalat, 22 October, 1832, case No. 22, B.C. 1502/58893.

[13] Statement, Singrai, Enclosure, Russell to Government, 18 April, 1832, B.C. 1363/54226.

[14] Sutherland to Government. n.d. para. 8, B.C. 1363/54227.

[15] 'P', Pitoria, n.d. Bengal Hurkaru, 15 February, 1832.

[16] Quoted in India Gazette, 8 March, 1832.

[17] *Ibid.*, 9 February, 1832.

[18] *Ibid.*, 10 February, 1832.

[19] Sutherland to Government, n.d. B.C. 1363/54227.

[20] Master to Government, 17 January, 1833, para. 24, B.C. 1502/58893.

[21] Metcalfe, Minute, 14 April, 1832, B.C. 1363/54227. Sutherland thought that if the Kols had "possessed either leaders or enterprise, they would undoubtedly have established themselves at our stations of Hazaribagh, Bankoorah and Sherghatty, perhaps at Gyah (Gaya) commanding the principal road between Calcutta and Benares and taking possession of some of the oldest territories of the Company. Sutherland to Government n.d. B.C. 1363/54227.

[22] Blunt, Minute, 4 April, 132, B.C. 1363/54227.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Joint Commissioners to Bowen, 9 February, 1832, para. 2, B.C. 1362/54224.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF M. MASIH UDDIN KHAN PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE DEPOSED KING OF OUDH IN LONDON

[*Summary*]

SAFI AHMAD

M. Masih Uddin Khan was born at Kakori, Lucknow District in 1804 A.D. and held the high posts of *Mir Munshi* of the Persian Section of the office of Governor-General, Diwan of Munni Begum's Deorhi at Murshidabad and was ultimately appointed plenipotentiary of the deposed King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah in London.

He was well acquainted with the great personalities of his age both in India (e.g., Ali Naqi Khan, the Prime Minister of the last King of Oudh, and Mirza Sikander Hashmat, the young brother of Wajid Ali Shah) and in England (e.g., Lord Ellenborough, the Chairman of the Board of Directors and Sir Herbert Maddock, a retired Indian civilian). When in London, he became acquainted with great Victorians like Mr. Gladstone and Disraeli and was invited by Queen Victoria for an interview and granted the special privilege of dining at her table.

During his stay in London he made strenuous efforts to get the Kingdom of Oude restored but unfortunately the rebellion of 1857 ruined his chances. Although he had enlisted the sympathy of a large number of parliamentarians, still he had also made secret enemies who ultimately cheated him and reduced him to paupery. He has left behind a *Safarnamah* or a diary of his travels (a treatise of 1437 pages of 19 lines each written in Urdu Nastaliq and divided into five parts, size 7″×11″. Kutubkhanae Anwaria Kakori Manuscript) from which the story of his life has been extracted in this paper. Besides this he was the author of an English work named *Oude: Its Princes and its Government vindicated* which was printed in London in 1857 but was suppressed by the British Government during the stormy days of Indian Mutiny. This was, however, translated by one Dr. Hofmann, a German politician living close to him in London.

This English work written by such an eminent Indian author has been made the basis of a famous work on Oudh history namely R. W. Bird's 'Dacoitee In Excelsis Or, The Spoliation of Oude.' He says that "Some other omissions under this head are mentioned by MM. Musseehooddeen, and on his authority we give the following statement, coupled with a comparison disparaging to the Company". (p. 151).

This work is a full history of Oudh, the first part of which up to Saadat Ali Khan's reign (1814) is obviously based upon indigenous sources, But from 1814 to 1856, the author himself had a first hand information about Oude and had access to the original records preserved in the royal archives of Oudh. He has disclosed hitherto-unknown malpractices in the relations and the procedure of correspondence between the Governor-General and the Kings of Oudh. The work, in short, has a great value as a source of Oudh history and reveals many important facts about the Treaty of 1837 and the Reports of Sleeman and Outram.

THAKUR RANMAT SINGH OF REWA

AVINASH CHANDRA SRIVASTAVA

[*Summary*]

This paper attempts to bring to light the career, character, personality and contribution of Thakur Ranmat Singh of Rewa—hero of Baghelkhand during the rebellion of 1857.

Ranmat Singh was the last, but by far the most formidable leader of the movement between Rewa Banda and Panna during the time of the Mutiny. He came from the Mankahari branch of Gothi Baghelas whose record of service to the Rewa Durbar was one of the most distinguished and faithful, and tradition says that he was a great favourite of Maharaja Raghuraj Sinha, the then ruler of Rewa State and enjoyed his blessings as well for his activities.

This prodigal hero of his time organised a mixed force of mutineers and other restless elements and became a terror to the British and their supporters.

He had written a letter in February 1858 to Tatya Tope who was then at the height of his power to enlist his support, co-operation and guidance. He sent this letter through his most trusted lieutenant Lal Punjab Sinha and mentioned in that letter that Tatya Tope would be enlightened about the situation in detail through this man.

When Sir Huge Rose started his counter offensive on the Jhansi front the responsibility for the arrest of Ranmat Sinha was thrown by the British on Rewa State and a reward of Rs. 2000/- was announced on his person. He was however checkmated by Ajaigarh forces under General Kesri Sinha in the grim battle of Bhillsain in which, though Kesri Sinha was killed, Ranmat Sinha was also badly wounded. From then Ranmat went practically into hiding but continued to give trouble for the whole year first from Dabhaura and then from Kothi State where he had shifted after the heroic end of Ranjit Rai Dikshit, the Zamindar of Dabhaura while defending himself against the army of pursuit.

Ranmat Sinha while evading capture killed a British officer who had come in search of him in Garhi of Keoti in Rewa territory, and

again escaped. Khamhariya, Gurh, Marwas, Changbhakhar and Rewa town were among his hiding places. Ultimately he surrendered himself to Osborne, the Political Agent of Rewa, at the instance of the Durbar (thanks to Dewan Din Bandh Bahadur) and at that time he was staying in Devi Ka Mandir in Uprehti outside the gate of Fort Palace. He was then deported to Banda and by the time Lord Canning visited Raghuraj Sinha at Rewa on his way to Jabalpur in December 1860, Ranmat Sinha had been hanged on the charge of murder of a British officer.

In this way the heroic efforts of Ranmat Sinha led temporarily to abortive and fruitless results, but ultimately they were crowned with success and met the desired effect. It was during the lifetime of Raghuraj Sinha that the Indian National Congress was founded, through which power was ultimately transferred to the Indian people on the 15th August 1947.

It was a most gratifying and appreciable gesture on the part of the Madhya Pradesh Government to have paid tribute to the memory of the great martyr of this region by naming the biggest and the most renowned educational institution of Vindhya Pradesh, Darbar College, Rewa, after him in 1957 on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the great rebellion.

A STUDY IN BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY: BARODA (1870-75)

SHRIMATI M. P. KAMARKAR

The events in Baroda between 1870 and 1875 brought out certain aspects of the relationship of the Paramount power with the Indian States. The Baroda controversy and the manner of its disposition illustrates the way in which the Paramount power exercised its discretionary powers. It nullifies all claims of sovereignty made on the part of Indian States and particularly the Baroda Darbar. Lastly it shows the offensive manner in which mediocre members of the British Civil Service behaved and acted ; thus vitiating relations between the States and the Government of India and diverting the course of events into unstable channels.

An examination of British-Baroda relations from their first encounter at the end of the 18th Century shows the real nature of their respective positions. After the Convention of Wadgaon in 1779 the East India Company decided to enter into a Treaty with the Gaekawad acknowledging his independence of the Peshwa and accordingly a "Treaty of Defensive and Offensive Alliance[1] was concluded on the 26th January 1780". The importance of this treaty lies in the clauses which handed over certain territories of the Peshwa to the Gaekawad and the Gaekawad's promise to send 3000 horse to join the British Army. These clauses are indicative of the type of treaties to follow.

Treaties were made and unmade according to the historical exigencies of the period and not with any set principles in mind. The principles developed later, along with the expansion of British power, the dominant motive being that of the attainment of supremacy.

In 1800 a dynastic struggle for the Gadi took place between Anandrao and his half brother Kanhojirao. The outcome of this was that Anandrao's scheming minister Raoji Appaji threw himself on the protection of the British. The Gaekawad agreed by a Convention[2] concluded on the 15th March 1802 to receive a subsidiary force from the Bombay Government and to cede certain districts.

The Convention and the Treaty had included a stipulation[3] for British assistance to the Gaekawad in reducing the number of Arab mercenaries. Another illuminating corollary of the treaty was a private engagement[4] between the Governor of Bombay and Raoji whereby he (Raoji) was guaranteed the permanent Dewanship of Baroda State and promised similar protection to his son and relatives. In the words of the agreement "......and if the Gaekawad Sena Khas Kheyl Shamsher Bahadur or anybody else, should unreasonably treat them ill or offer undue molestation, the Company will protect them by interfering in their behalf".[5]

Thus through Convention, Treaty and Engagement the British ascendency was assured by 1803. If sovereignty be accepted to mean non-interference in internal affairs the Gaekawad had lost much of his sovereignty by the quartering of subsidiary troops in Baroda, by the replacement of the Arabs by British as financial and personal guarantors of the Gaekawad himself. All these engagements contracted in 1802 were consolidated in 1805 by a "Definitive Treaty of General Defence Alliance"[6] signed on the 21st April 1805. A further cession of lands was made by an agreement in 1808.[7] Thus we can see that the internal difficulties of the Gaekawad's Government gave the British a great opportunity of extending their influence over his country. In the words of Wallace[8] the treaties negotiated by Appaji Raoji and his successors had "placed in it's (British) hands the virtual sovereignty of a magnificent province."

The first British Resident, Major Alexandar Walker, was the real power behind the administration from 1802 to 1809. As he himself describes "Certain cases of a delicate nature called for and demanded an active interference in and vigilant control over, every part of internal management, without which the objects of the Honorable Company's Government could scarcely have been obtained, and the Government of the Gaekawad saved from the state of anarchy and confusion with which it was threatened"[9]. At times (e.g., during Mount Stuart Elphinstone's regime) instead of open intervention it was a veiled intervention which was exercised[10]; although the form and the degree of interference varied at different times. Baroda was subjected to intervention throughout its history and since 1820 whenever a dispute as to jurisdiction arose the British relied on their treaties. From 1820 onwards the Resident continued to offer advice and remonstrances to the rulers, for particular measures. The result was the effectual curtailment of the powers of the Gaekawad in his own administration. The events of the Mutiny put to test the Indian States system. The majority proved faithful and the British system was justified. The Gaekawad was one of the most loyal and as a result got several rewards both of a practical nature and also of prestige value[11]. Amongst other things Baroda was granted a permanent salute of 21 guns and also a Sanad of Adoption.[12] From 1856 onwards Khande Rao's reign was marked by serious deterioration in the administration of Baroda[13] and on several occasions was reproved by the British Government. Undoubtedly mis-government, and chronic indebtedness were current in Baroda as in many other Indian States. Without in any way making an attempt to exonerate the Gaekawad, it cannot be doubted that the system of subsidiary treaty alliance itself created the conditions of mis-government which in the case of Baroda culminated in the reign of Malhar Rao who succeeded to the Gadi in November 1870.

Malhar Rao Gaekawad ascended the throne in November 1870 under a cloud. He had been kept confined in the prison by his brother who suspected him of being implicated in an attempt at murdering him. He was also thought to be of feeble intellect and generally unsuited for the task at hand.

Such a man, classified as being of feeble intellect[14] and "not so very intelligent to be dangerous"[15] by two succeeding Residents at Baroda was allowed to assume the throne in 1870. He was not likely to command the respect of the British administrators. They felt that he was allowed his position on sufference. Although Malhar Rao seems to have begun his reign with the intention of pleasing the British rulers, a series of revengeful acts were perpetrated against the supporters of his deceased brother Khande Rao including the suspected poisoning of Khande Rao's Minister Bhau Shinde who met with a horrible death. He even persecuted the wife of his dead brother who eventually had to take refuge in the British Residency.

In the midst of all these unsavoury proceedings a Darbar was held in Bombay by the Viceroy Lord Northbrooke in November 1872. The Gaekawad refused to attend the Darbar because the British had withdrawn his right to sit on the right hand of the Viceroy on the same sofa. To get back this privilege, Dadabhai Naoroji was engaged by Malhar Rao to draft out an appeal. The rights of the Gaekawad in this connection were clearly stated in what has come to be known as the famous "Precedence Khareeta".[16] The controversy is of interest in so far as it was a prestige fight in which the Paramount Power had to give way. This result seems to have rankled in the minds of the authorities and may have had more than proportionate influence in deciding the course of events. It was also looked upon as an affront by Colonel Phayre the Resident who, because of the Khareeta, amongst other things looked upon Dadabhai as representing a challenge to British Imperial prestige. As a result of these representations to both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, Malhar Rao was allowed to keep this honour during his life time but it would not extend to his descendents. The British had looked upon this sitting arrangetment as an insult to H. M. Queen Victoria and felt it was injurious to the dignity and the honour due to the Paramount Power.

As has been pointed out Khande Rao's reign of reckless expenditure and heavy taxation had brought a general deterioration of affairs. The saving factor in his time however was that a flourishing cotton trade (due to the American Civil War) kept the revenues flowing and did not bring out the discrepancies. When Malhar Rao continued in the same improvident manner he was faced with the decline of the cotton trade, which fact he did not take into consideration. Malhar Rao "an essentially weak and vicious ruler"[17] exposed his people to various exactions and indignities imposed both by himself and by his worthless courtiers whose "craving for acquiring wealth, however, irregularly or improperly"[18] was keen. "The Maharaja himself.........(was) bent on increasing his revenue by imprudent and oppressive means".[19] Baroda, to use Pandit Nehru's description of the majority of Indian States was a "sink of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power, sometimes exercised by vicious and degraded individuals".[20]

Matters were precipitated by the advent of Colonel Phayre as Resident. Colonel Phayre belonged to that school of mediocre bureaucrats who assumed various poses and claims of petty tyranny. He also had an overweening idea of the position and pride of the Paramount Power. In his zeal he did more harm than good. To him the theory of Suzerainty was supposed to be that of complete obedience of an Indian Prince. In the words of Sir Sydney Low he was one of those "Anglo-Indian high officials............................inclined to treat all the feudatories alike and to consider that they really existed on sufference and ought in consequence to defer humbly to the views of the Central Government conveyed to them through the Resident".[21]

Immediately on his arrival in Baroda in March 1873 Colonel Phayre began to make peremptory demands upon the Gaekawad for reforming this thing and that. At the same time he began to write a series of letters to the Bombay Government reporting the mal-administration of the State, charging the Gaekawad with various misedemeanours. The chief grievances were: (a) the question of Najarana and the refusal of five Thakurs to give it. This had led them to rebellion and according to Colonel Phayre's letter to the Government of Bombay in July[22] they "have now broken out into open rebellion and have taken to the strong ground on the banks of the Sabarmati with about a thousand Coolie followers". (b) The Gaekawad on coming to the throne had found a deficit of two crores. This he told Colonel Phayre had been "paid off" by pensioning off Sardars and Silledars. The Sardars and Silledars, however claimed two years arrears of full pay. (c) There was no thorough audit of the revenue accounts for 10 years and State Banks had been abolished by Malhar Rao. Most of the hereditary bankers were ruined and instead a new State Bank was installed by a man who so far had been a cloth merchant.[23] (d) As an example of the Gaekawad's extravagance Colonel Pharye says "I not long ago casually discovered that His Highness had commenced to build a new palace in Baroda, on a reduced plan of the Tuileries. (e) There is not a road in the country even worked out or cleared and that life and property are insecure for want of a good rural police."[24] (f) As examples of harsh and cruel behaviour towards the common people, may be cited the flogging of eight men in the streets of Baroda one of whom died on the spot, another in jail and six others were in a precarious position.[25] There was also oppression of large bodies of people".[26] About 400 cultivators from the Baroda District headed by their Patels came to the Residency to complain that, "they had for several months past been driven out of their villages, twelve in number, by the deer which His Highness the Gaekawad had ordered to be preserved for hunting and sporting generally".[27] On enquiry it was found that forty two villages were affected by these deer preserves......."They were afraid to complain owing to the imprisonment and injustice which the twelve Patels of the other villages had experienced"[28] (g) Allegations were made of the practice of the abduction of females from their families for the purpose of converting them into laundis (household slave)[29]; (h) Several cases of gross injustice to British subjects[30]; (i) Cases of bribery and corruption on the part of the advisers of the Gaekawad. The complaints of bribery etc., which were pouring in were mainly against the Minister, (in this case Sayaji Rao Khanvelkar) who, there could be no doubt, was the main cause of the deplorable state of affairs. Colonel Phayre pointed out that he could not be touched unless Government were to authorise his speaking to the Gaekawad in their name in a manner that might induce him to carry out thorough reform[31] (j) The subsidiary contingent had been seriously disorganised by the corrupt practices of the Darbar. Colonel Phayre further goes on to say "In endeavouring to account for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs generally it has caused me deep regret to discover how completely all that formerly constituted the reins by which the imperial power checked and guided the Gaekawad State had been let go, the result being the inordinate ideas which the Gaekawad now entertains of his independent sovereignty and the lawless practices into which he has consequently fallen towards his subject.[32] The same Malhar Rao accused here of entertaining independent sovereign ideas was found completely humiliating himself before the Resident a month and a half later. Afraid of a rumour that he would be deposed Malhar Rao, as Colonel Phayre reports, "fell at my feet, put off his cap, and bowing his head to the ground burst into tears, and began to declare that he had no wish whatever to oppose the Government in anything; that he was really its dependent (Tabedar) and that he was a lost man if he lost their favour".[33]

Out of these complaints lodged by Colonel Phayre to the Bombay Government arose a series of claims and counter claims regarding the exercise of sovereign rights.

The Government of Bombay having considered Colonel Phayre's charges recommended to the Viceroy in August 1873[35] that "it is now the bounden duty of the British Government to take some steps more effectual than mere diplomatic remonstrance to remedy the evils that have been brought to notice. The Gaekawad beyond all dispute holds his throne under distinct pledges of protection from the British Government on the one hand and under equally distinct pledges to govern justly and to be guided, even controlled by the British Government on the other hand".[36]

In their presentation of the case to the Government of India the Bombay Government specially pointed out that there was no doubt about "the rights and duties of the British Government in respect to the just Government of the Baroda State or as to the obedience in relation thereto which the Gaekawad stands pledged"[37]..................Also the Gaekawad's obligation to the British is pointedly mentioned. According to the Government "it is especially incumbent on the present Gaekawad to be guided by the advice of the Government by which he was taken from a prison, where he had been confined on charges never disproved. in order to fill his present position of power and influence"[38] Lastly the Bombay Government requested that they be permitted to appoint an inquiry commission and also have the power to demand the dismissal of the Diwan and the Revenue Sir Soobah.

In reply to this the Government of India on the 19th September 1873[39] concurred in the proposal of the Bombay Government for the appointment of a commission of investigation. The reasons for appointing the Commission are elucidated by the Viceroy "...........the very serious step of appointing such a Commission is rendered necessary less by the alleged maladministration of the Baroda State than by the fact that the mis-Government is stated injuriously to affect British interests and the treaty rights of the British Government, and to be dangerous to the security of the life and prosperity in the neighbouring territories".[40] His special concern was the British districts bordering on the Gaekawad's territories. According to him "it is open to question whether the appointment of a Commission of enquiry would be warranted by reasons of a less general and weighty kind...............". The interest of the British in maintaining their special powers in the States and their lack of interest in the woes and sufferings of the common people is obvious here. Intervention was always undertaken when there was a *prima facie* case of injury to British interests.

On the appointment of the Commission on the 18th October, 1873, from which Colonel Phayre was excluded, the Gaekawad wrote a letter[41] of protest against the appointment of the Commission, citing the treaties as upholding his rights, but maintaining at the same time that "the British Government is undoubtedly the Paramount Power in India, and the existence and prosperity of the native states depend upon its fostering favour and sovereign protection".[42] Of course his request was not granted and the Commission began its business and submitted its report in 1874.[43]

The conclusions arrived at by them mostly bore out the accusations made by the Resident and others.[44] The Commission felt bound to call for a reformation here "especially with reference to the intermixed position of the Baroda and British Districts".[45]

In March 1874 a copy of the report was submitted to the Gaekawad. Once again the Gaekawad made an attempt to recapture his position and make claims as an independent power, quoting the very treaties[46] and engagements which had reduced his powers,[47]. To this the Viceroy Lord Northbrooke replied in extremely authoritative terms, putting forth the British claims over native States and particularly over Baroda. He wrote[48] "I deem it therefore necessary to remind you that both by the terms of treaties and by constant usage, the British Government has the right to advise you in public concerns affecting the good of the country..............and that by consequence it is at liberty to take such steps as it may deem necessary for the just exercise of that right and the fulfillment of the obligation to the Ruler and the people of Baroda which flow therefrom............from the earliest period of its connection with the Baroda State the British Government has repeatedly found it necessary to intervene in Baroda affairs. This intervention, although amply justified by the language of the treaties, rests also on other foundations—The British Government is undoubtedly the paramount power in India..
and if in consequence the condition of the Baroda administration remains unreformed, the only course left will be to remove your highness from the exercise of power".[49]

Malhar Rao, had already taken steps towards reform. In December 1873 he had invited Dadabhai Naoroji to take charge as Diwan. This choice was not given final approval by the Government of Bombay till August 1874. This appointment was looked upon with disfavour at first both by the Government of Bombay[50] and Colonel Phayre[51] When Col. Phayre found that the Viceroy took the appointment of the Commission into his own hands and left him to play a subordinate role, he was very much disappointed and was now trying to regain his supremacy by preventing any smooth working out of reforms. Colonel Phayre felt that "subordinate cooperation of the princes meant a close attention to the views and opinions of the Indian Government and a willing obedience to its mandates".[52] Officials like him called for the remonstrance of the Prince of Wales in 1875 about "the rude and rough manner with which the English Political officers treat them".[53] In a previous appointment,[54] he had gone beyond his powers by instituting persecution against some men in Sind even after he had been warned by the Commissioner in Sind that the accounts disclosed no frauds.[55] Because of his persistent neglect of the advice of his senior he was dismissed from his post in Sind. Such a person then was to preside over the new reforms at Baroda.

Thus Dadabhai was working against great odds—"the Durbarees began to take heart and tried to lead back the Maharajah to his old ways". In fact Col. Phayre publicly declared that he would *"girenga* or *giraenga*"[55] (*i.e.* Dadabhai).

Seeing this difference between the two, people began to take sides and Col. Phayre began inciting various sections of the public by promising them that he would right their just or imaginary grievances. Dadabhai was not given a chance to even investigate, because as he says "—they would first complain at once to the Resident, then come to me, and make insolent demands from us, and the moment we commenced any question or inquiry, they would refuse to answer and threaten us that they would go back to the Saheb and complain that their complaints had not been heard or redressed, and away they would walk off to the Saheb".[57] In the meantime the Resident was hurling vexatious *yads* at the Darbar and writing letter after letter to the Government, for which to use Dadabhai's words, he enclosed petitions and statements from the complaints taken by himself containing all sorts of falsehood and exaggeration".[58] Colonel Phayre in this way kept up a "continued agitation[59] amongst all classes of complainants. In this way the avowed object of the British Government was frustrated by a foolish self-opinionated official out to grab any semblance of power.

Another way in which the Colonel, who seemed to think of himself as having "great statesmanlike grasp",[60] managed to frustrate reforms was by refusing co-operation, as in the case of the Sardars, at the same time that he was accusing the Durbar of doing nothing to solve this problem. Actually Dadabhai had asked Colonel Phayre to help him clear up each case. To this Colonel Phayre replied "I am not going to show you my hand".[61]

In spite of all these hardships Dadabhai and his assistants were able to make some concrete changes in the administration. The Nazarana system in judicial cases was abolished.[62] Similarly officials of the Baroda Government such as Vahivatdars and Fozdars accused of corruption or oppression were tried in open court—"and made to feel the weight of law and justice".[62] Sir Lewis Pelly testifies that "until purged by the administration of Mr. Dadabhai the commercial and civil administration of justice was notoriously venal and corrupt[63]. Under Dadabhai's direction Mr. Mangesh and Mr. Wadia had nearly completed preparation of the penal code and civil and criminal procedure codes on the basis of the English codes with necessary modification.[65] The revenue system had been partly recast under Mr. Kazi Shahabuddin. Much could have been done in what Dadabhai called "a most promising state".[66] But they found that only the four of them would be working all along without help. The Bombay Government refused the help of the officials asked for by Dadabhai until the findings of the Meade Commission.[67] Dadabhai had even succeeded in persuading the Gaekawad of the necessity of instituting a systematic government and had drawn up a scheme by which the administration of the Gaekawad would be carried out. This scheme was set forth by Dadabhai as the terms and conditions under which he would continue in office.[68] Amongst other points it included the promise on the part of the Gaekawad to make some high officers resign and consult Dadabhai on new appointments. The counter-signature of Dadabhai on cheques was to be necessary and only orders signed by the Gaekawad and counter-signed by Dadabhai had to be obeyed.[69] This document is what Colonel Phayre refers to as the monstrous agreement of twenty-five articles to make over the Raj to Dadabhai.[70]

Ultimately on the 4th of November[71] Dadabhai drafted a Khareeta indicting Col. Phayre with the responsibility of delayed reforms. This representation satisfied the Government of India that "Col. Phayre had thoroughly misunderstood the spirit of the instructions"[72] and he was recalled.

At the moment of victory, however, fell a grievous blow. An attempt was made to poison Colonel Phayre and the hand pointed at Malhar Rao. He was forthwith suspended from his Gadi, kept a prisoner and Sir Lewes Pelly assumed the government of the state in the name of the Government of India. In this case the state could claim sovereignty no more than a province today could on the assumption of Governor's rule. A public trial, the first of its kind, was instituted.[73] The outcome of the trial was inconclusive. The opinion of the Commission was sharply divided between the European and the Indian members. A careful perusal of the trial evidence [74] will also show the questionable character of the witnesses and one cannot avoid the conclusion that police "Joolam" may have had a great deal to do with the deposition of the witnesses.

In spite of this the Government deposed Malhar Rao and his direct heirs.[75] This appears to be a very vindictive proceeding which may have been the result of the attacks on imperial prestige which the Gaekawad had made in the beginning of his reign.

The Government of India, inspite of admitting that the "criminality of the Maharajah"[76] had not been proved, deposed him "because having regard to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda from the accession of H. H. Malhar Rao; his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms".[76] The last sentence is really surprising and meaningless, when viewed in the light of the previous account of Dadabhai's attempt at reforms and the Government of India's own vindication of Dadabhai and Malhar Rao as against their own agent Colonel Phayre.[78] Also Sir Lewis Pelly states "—it is fair to say that in so far as his (Gaekawad's) conduct is concerned, from the date of my arrival here down to the present time I have no reason to complain. He has to the best of his ability acted up to his assurances and himself taken interest and pains in seeing the administrative reforms".[79]

The other charges of misgovernment had already been investigated by the first Commission.[80] There was no necessity now of holding him to those accusations.

That the deposition further devolved on his direct descendents is another puzzling feature. It again points to a vindictive attitude and also the unwillingness of the Government of India to recognise as legitimate son of Malhar Rao by his wife Laxmibai, a woman of questionable character and belonging to the Dhobi community. There was a question of the validity of the marriage and therefore of the legitimacy of her son.[81] These facts and the "Precedence Khareta" were both disputes involving the prestige and outward position of the Paramount Power. The real reason for the action of the Government of India may be found here. The trial and proclamation[82] of deposition show that according to the Viceroy "Paramountcy combined with usage[83] had conferred on the Government of India a power only halted by its own discretion". It was itself the judge of which it could or could not do, it decided what it pleased and its decisions were to be regarded as statements of law which could override or cancel out even contractual obligations.[84]

It was absurd for Indian Princes, therefore, to make claims of sovereignty, unless by sovereignty they meant local autonomy. Even this so called local autonomy was precarious. The Indian Princes and their states were convenient instruments of imperial rule. Docile, selfish and thoroughly dependent on the British for their maintenance, they were the best supporters of the British and later the British tried to use the states as threats to Indian unity and independence. The Princes alone could give the British the utter loyalty lauded by the Butler

Committee report.[85] Making specific use of the States the British showed quite clearly that "the sovereignty of the British Crown in India is supreme and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaty and engagements but exists independently of them".[86] Imperial necessity alone has determined how and when their discretionary powers are to be used. Indian Princes and their apologists were only talking of an illusion when speaking of themselves as independent, or sovereign.

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[1] C. U. Aitchison: A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries. Vol. VI.

Treaty as ratified by the Supreme Govt. in 1780 (26th January), p. 308.

[2] C. U. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI. A convention concluded between Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay and Raoji Appaji—1802. Article 3 Treaty No. VI, p. 316.

[3] C. U. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Treaty of 6th June, 1802. Article 4, p. 318.

[4] C. U. Aitchison, Vol. VI—Private Engagement with Raojee Appaji, 18th June, 1802, p. 329.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] C. U. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, "Treaties", etc., Vol. VI, Treaty of 21st April. 1805. Article 5, P. 342.

[7] C. U. Aitchison, Vol. VI, Memorandum of Anandrao Gaekawad, 12th July, 1808, p. 351-352.

[8] R. Wallace—The Gaekawad and his relation with the British Government (1863), p. 90.

[9] R. Wallace, *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[10] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, refer letter from the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay to H. H. Sayajirao Gaekawad, dated 3rd April, 1820, p. 360.

[11] Aitchison's *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 890, Kharita to Gaekawad from Canning, dated 31st May, 1848, p. 375.

[12] Aitchison's, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Adoption Sanad granted to Gaekawad of Baroda, dated 11th March, 1862 by Lord Canning, p. 375.

[13] Bombay Gazetteer, Chapter VII, p. 280.

[14] Col. Wallace quoted in Bombay Gazetteer, p. 278.

[15] R. Shakespeare, quoted in Bombay Gazetteer, p. 278.

[16] Khareeta, dated 5th December, 1872. From H. H. Malhar Rao Gaekwad to the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

[17] Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the Administration of the Baroda State. 1875, p. 88.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[20] Presidential Address of Pt. Nehru at the Anand Session at the All India State People's Conference, 1939.

[21] Sir Sidney Low: Indian State and ruling Princes, 1929, p. 37.

[22] From Resident at Baroda to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, No. 103-552, dated Baroda Residency, 25th June, 1873.

[23] From Resident at Baroda to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, No. 107-573, dated 28th June, 1873.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] From Resident at Baroda to Government and President in Council, No. 1, dated 25th March, 1873.

[26] From Resident at Baroda to the Secretary to Government of Bombay. 151-777, dated Baroda Residency, 24th August, 1873.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] From Asstt. Resident at Baroda to H. H. the Gaekawad, dated 15th August, 1873.

[30] From Resident at Baroda to Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 144-176, dated Baroda Residency, 18th May, 1870.

[31] From Resident at Baroda to Secretary to the Government of Bombay, No. 149-772, dated Baroda Residency, 21st August, 1873.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] From Resident at Baroda to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, No. 146-762, dated 19th August, 1873.

[34] From Resident at Baroda to Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 107-543, dated 28th June, 1873.

[35] From Secretary, Government of Bombay to Secretary Government of India Foreign Dept., No. 64T, dated 29th August, 1873.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] From Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept. to Secretary to Govt. of Bombay, No. 2209 P. dated, Simla 19th September, 1873.

[40] From Secretary to Government of India. F.D. to Secretary Government of Bombay, No. 2427, dated Simla, 10th October, 1873.

[41] From H. H. Malhar Rao Gaekawad to H. E. the Viceroy and G. G. of India, Kharita, dated Baroda Palace, 25th October, 1873.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Administration of the Baroda State 1875, special reference to ill treatment of his predecessor's relatives.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 86

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 87

[46] From H. H. Malhar Rao Gaekawad to H. E. Viceroy and G. G. of India, Kharita, dated Navsari Palace, 17th May, 1874.

[47] Treaties, 6th June, 1802, 29th July, 1802, 21st April, 1805, 12th July, 1808, 6th November, 1817.

[48] G. G. of India to H. H. The Gaekawad of Baroda Kharita, dated St. William, 25th July, 1874.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Dadabhai Naoroji's reply to Blue Book No. 1-C 1203 of 1875 from "Essays speeches addresses and writings on Indian Politics of Dadabhai Naoroji" ed. by Parekh C. L., p. 386.

[51] From Resident at Baroda to Secretary to Govt. of Bombay, 15th August, 1874, published in Report on Adm. etc., p. 31.

[52] Subsidiary Indian States and Ruling Princes, p. 36.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[54] Political Superintendent of Upper Frontier in Sind.

[55] Extract from a Govt. Document read by Sergeant Ballentine in the Court before Col. Phayre published in "Proceedings of Commission inquirying into charges against H. H. Gaekawad of Baroda, 1875", p. 68.

[56] Dadabhai Naoroji, *op. cit.*, reply to Baroda Blue Book No. 2-C 1249, p. 388.

[57] Dadabhai Naoroji, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 392

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 392

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 393

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 595.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

[64] B.B.B. 4-C 1251, Govt. of India, No. 6, P.U.R. quoted in Dadabhai Naoroji, *op. cit*., p. 395.

[65] Dadabhai's reply to B.B.B. 4-C-1251, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[68] Dadabhai's letter to H. H. Gaekawad, Dec., 1874, stating his views and measures for the welfare of the State, p. 404.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 405.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 405.

[71] From H. H. the Gaekawad to Viceroy Exel. 6832 Bombay to Calcutta Proposed reforms, p. 82.

[72] Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay to Resident at Baroda, 24th August, 1874, published in proposed reforms etc., p. 36.

[73] Commission appointed to inquire into charges against H. H. the Gaekawad of Baroda, 1875.

[74] Proceedings of the Commission appointed to investigate into the charges against H. H. Gaekawad of Baroda, 1875.

[75] Bombay Gazetteer, Ch. VII, p. 280, quotes Procl. of Govt. of India.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] Ref. is to recall of Col. Phayre, Dec., 1874.

[79] From Col. Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.S.I., Agent to the G.G. & Sp. Com., Baroda, to C. U. Aitchison, Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., dated 18th December, 1879 from Proposed reforms, p. 92.

[80] Commission appointed to inquire into the Administration of Baroda State, 1873.

[81] C. Gomes, Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay to C. U. Aitchison, Secy. to Govt. of India, dated 29th October, 1874, published in Corr. relating to the Marriage of the Gaekawad, 1875.

[82] Proclamation by the Govt. of India, Simla, 19th April, 1875.

[83] Subsidiary Law: Indian States and Ruling Princes, 1929, p. 62.

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] Report of the Indian States Committee, 1928-29.

[85] Viceroy & G.G. of India to H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, dated Delhi, 27th March, 1926, published in Report of the Indian States Committee 1928-29.

RUSSOPHOBIA AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONGRESS

S. R. Singh

The facts that the Congress was founded in 1885, when the Russian menace in Central Asia was looming large and there was a danger of Russian advance on India; that there are references in the despatches of certain British politicians to this danger, while successive, early Congress Presidents have pointedly referred to Russia in their speeches; that Lord Dufferin secretly gave his blessings to the foundation of the Congress; that the first session of the Congress was held in 1885 when a similar conference with identical aims was being held at Calcutta, may lead a thoughtful student of Modern Indian History to the conclusion that Russophobia was largely responsible for the foundation of the Congress in 1885.[1]

However, a careful study of the relevant materials would convince any critical mind that it was just a chance coincidence that the Indian National Congress was founded at a time when Russian danger was appearing on the horizon, and that it had little to do with the foundation of the Congress. It is a well-known fact that having been dammed in Europe after the Berlin Congress (1878) Russian expansionist motives were directed towards the East, but there is no documentary evidence to show that Russia had ever drawn up plans to invade India. Moreover, the English educated middle classes in India were opposed to the Russian type of government, Congress or no Congress. Making a plea for the introduction of popular government in India, Henry Cotton says, "The horror of Russian invasion is a sentiment universal among all classes. The people of India do not like the English dominion, but they do not wish to see a change of masters.... They know perfectly well that if the English were driven out of India by the Russians, an Imperial Russian government would prove less disinterested and philanthropic than an imperial British government. They know at least that if the Russians were to come to India all the advantages which they have so laboriously acquired through English education would be lost. Their knowledge of Russian administration and Russian policy is very imperfect; and being tainted in every particular by English prejudices which they have derived from their English education, their dislike and dread of Russia is even greater than that of the Anglo-Indians whose language and style in speaking of Russia they imitate".[2]

As regards the founding of the Congress in 1885, when the Indian Association of Surendra Nath Banerjea was holding a similar conference at Calcutta, it would be better to quote the words of Surendranath himself, "While we were having our national conference in Calcutta, the Indian National Congress, conceived on the same lines and having the same programme, was holding its first sittings at Bombay. The movements were simultaneous, the preliminary arrangements were made independently, neither party knowing what the other party was doing until on the eve of the sittings of the conference and of the Congress."[3] This makes it amply clear that the Congress did not think in terms of stealing a march over the Indian Association, and there was no question of Mr. Hume being out "to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by a dismissed government servant"[4] as suggested by Dr. Chatterji. Suffice it to say that India was in ferment at that time and different minds were ruminating in their own way over the evolution of a liberal government in India and they were trying to promote the cause as best as they could.

It should also be kept in mind in this connection that Mr. Hume had not turned into a friend of India overnight. Rather he had had a long record of disinterested public service behind him. Even in his early years he "exhibited his remarkable capacity to identify himself with the Indian people and their problems."[5] In Etawah he was the pioneer of popular education and by January 1857 no fewer than 181 elementary free schools had been established, supported by cess. The entire cost of construction of schools amounted to rupees thirty four thousand, of which rupees twenty four thousand was subscribed by Mr. Hume himself and the residents of the district.[6] He instituted scholarships for the maintenance of a few of the best students.[7] In order to educate and enlighten public opinion, Hume, in cooperation with an Indian friend, started in 1859 a vernacular paper named "The People's Friend."[8] It was this Hume who was the founder-father of the Indian National Congress. It cannot be said that he was largely prompted by the Russian menace to found the Congress in haste.

Not only English educated Indians but also some liberal Englishmen were sincerely agitating for the establishment of liberal traditions in India. They cannot be dubbed as the apologists of British Imperialism in India, rather they were the well-wishers of the people of both India and England and in the continued cooperation between India and England they saw the interests of both the peoples best served. What they wanted in the distant future was perhaps a British Commonwealth of Nations in which the Indians and the English would be equal partners. In the words of Cotton again, "It would be a frightful calamity if some unforeseen disaster were to compel us to withdraw from our occupation of India. At the same time it is but folly not to recognise that our occupation of the country cannot be permanent, and that the relations between England and India already show signs of change . . . There can be no doubt that the English rule in its present form cannot continue . . . the connection between India and England will not be snapped . . . We may assert with confidence that India will no more break from its connection with England than it will from the Hindoo or Mohammadan periods of its history."[9]

It would not be out of place here to remember that Indian liberals held exactly the same views ; so would it be logical to hold the view that even Surendranath Banerjea established the Indian Association in 1876 and held its first conference in 1883 inspired largely by Russophobia ?

The truth is that during the last quarter of the 19th century there was increased bitterness of race-feeling in India between the English and the Indians and this had been accentuated by the reactionary government of Lord Lytton and the Ilbert Bill controversy. In fact, this controversy had given the immediate impetus. Dr. Chatterji himself remarks "It gave rise to a counter agitation among the educated Indians. The London 'Punch' published at this time a cartoon which was prophetic. It depicted the Viceroy driving an elephant (i.e. Indian) with a party of howling Englishmen trying to molest him from the 'howdah'. The cartoon was entitled 'The Anglo-Indian Mutiny—a bad example to the elephant.' In fact the whole Ilbert Bill affair taught the Indians the use and technique of the art of political agitation, and one direct effect of this lesson was the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885."[10]

On the one hand the development of this racial arrogance was very much unwelcome to liberal-minded Englishmen, on the other it had roused Indian sentiments and had given birth to counter organisations all over the country. In the meantime the extra-ordinary ovation given to Lord Ripon at the time of his departure from India had instilled hope in the liberal-minded Englishmen that "all had not been lost and that the lost ground could still be retrieved." The Marquess of Ripon left India in December, 1884 and the first Indian National Congress met in 1885. The date of his departure is the natal day of a New India. The homage that was tendered to Lord Ripon by all classes and creeds was never before tendered to any foreign ruler. "The spectacle of a whole nation stirred by one common impulse of gratitude was never before beheld in Indian history . . . . No public movement could have been more characterised by unanimity and spontaneity. No sign could have shown more clearly that the germ of a nationality had already sprung into life."[11] These people were, therefore, anxious to preserve this good will and to counteract the harm done by the reactionary Anglo-Indians because of their racial arrogance.

As to this racial arrogance of the Anglo-Indian at this time there are many examples. Even Englishmen sympathetic to the Indian cause and aspirations were looked down upon by them. Thus Bampfylde Fuller spoke of "that curious movement known as the Congress, which, started by an Englishman of means and ability, who had retired in disappointment from the service of government, has for the last thirty years provided India with an amateur Parliament. It annually held a session in one or other of the large towns, which was attended by two or three hundred delegates from all parts of the country, and, in thousands, by the students and school boys of the locality. There was no formal organization for the selection of delegates : they were indeed self-elected, and without question many of them attended these meetings for change and recreation, and for the pleasure of travelling free of expense. The Congress frequently paid their railway fares."[12] Referring to the Indian unrest in the last quarter of the 19th century one arrogant Englishman remarked, "The actual agitators are not more than fifty in number, and their tools, the conspirators, are handful compared with the populace of India . . . The populace know nothing, and care nothing for all the scheming of the evil-disposed. They believe in the stability of the Government, and they are satisfied. Give them freedom from the petty oppression of the police and from the Tehsildarie Amla, and they would throw all the Congress-men over board."[13] It was in this arrogant tone that the liberal Anglo-Indians sensed danger, which they wanted to avert.

As to why the Congress presidents at successive meetings referred to Russia and pledged their support to the government against Russia may best be explained by the fact that the liberals who were in control of the Congress then were really attached to Liberal Britain and regarded the British connection with India as an opportunity presented by Providence for the moral and material improvement of India and regarded Russia as the very embodiment of the negation of all that for which liberalism stood, and in case of Russian invasion they pledged their loyal support to the Government. It was why they were anxious that the Indian government should shed more and more of its Russian autocracy, and put on a liberal garb. This is how a liberal describes the Government of India at the time of the retirement of Ripon, "There was no change in the constitution of the government which remained supreme as that of the Tsar of Russia. But in the spirit and disposition of the exercise of supreme power a change became visible."[14]

The aim of the Congress was to accelerate the pace of this change. It would be a matter of great joy for the Congress if the liberal nature of the administration won the Indians to loyal and healthy co-operation with the Government against the autocratic tradition of Russia. But it would be a far-fetched conclusion, quite opposed to logic, to say that the Congress was hastily conceived by Englishmen who were consciously suffering from Russophobia. To speak the truth, the Congress was the result of the maturing of the tendencies which had long been working in India since Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and the Ilbert Bill controversy and the liberal administration of Lord Ripon supplied the momentum which brought the Congress into being in 1885. "The Indian National Congress emerged as the outward embodiment of a new spirit and a new renaissance which were but a rich harvest of what had been sown earlier during the last century in the shape of English education and modern ideas of administration"[15] That was why the authorities could patronise the Congress only for three years. The Allahabad Congress (1888) encountered the active opposition of Sir Auckland Colvin, who in 1884 had recognised the birth of a new life in India, and who was a pupil of Lord Dufferin. "Lord Dufferin had, just before he vacated the Viceroyalty, denounced the Congress and its programme, and referred to the educated community as a 'microscopic minority'. Indian officialdom took its cue from him. Mr. Hume's stirring pamphlets appealing to educated India to rally round the Congress provoked the ire of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who not only wielded his pen in a wordy controversy, but threw many difficulties in the way of the holding of the session of the Congress at Allahabad."[16] The Congress was still professing loyalty and denouncing Russia, the danger from Russia was still there, Mr. Hume was still the guiding spirit behind the Congress, then why this change in official attitude if Dr. Chatterji's thesis is correct ?

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[1] Chatterji, Dr. Nandalal. The Foundation of the Congress and Russophobia —*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 171-177.

[2] Henry Cotton—New India, pp. 23-24, London, 1886.

[3] Banerji, S. N.—A Nation in Making, p. 98, London, 1931.

[4] Chatterji, Dr. Nandlal—*op. cit.*, p. 172.

[5] The Statesman, Republic Number, 26th January, 1961.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Henry Cotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

[10] J.I.H., Vol. XXXV, Part II, p. 225.

[11] Henry Cotton—India and Home Memories, p. 185, London 1911.

[12] Fuller, Bampfylde—Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment, pp. 339-40, London, 1910.

[13] A Mutiny Veteran—Some Reminiscences of Three Quarters of a Century in India, p. 11, London 1909.

[14] Henry Cotton—India and Home Memories, p. 177, London 1911.

[15] J.I.H., Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 379.

[16] Banerjea, S. N.—*op. cit.*, p. 109.

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN 19TH CENTURY INDIA

Johannes Voigt

Indian nationalism is predominantly studied in its connection with the National or Freedom Movement, and this again is mainly investigated in its political and socio-economic context.[1]

It is true that economic questions and the sociological situation in India —problems, inherited from the past, and problems created by the British rule—played an important part in directing the way and postulating the goal of the National Movement. But, they are not the only, and in many instances not the determining factors for either the growth of nationalism or the course of the National Movement.

Take for instance the question of reform. There was almost unanimous agreement amongst all prominent Indians in the 19th century as to the desirability, if not necessity, of reform in the social and economic field, and of change in the spiritual and religious sphere.

Differences of opinion arose, however, on the questions which reforms should be carried out, and in what way should they be made. These differences of opinion are not merely explicable by different assessments of the same sociological and economic facts or by the change of these facts in the course of time. The differences are expressions of fundamental differences of outlook, determined by a basic personal attitude, conviction or faith. When this basic attitude is predominantly shaped by an identification of a person with the larger entity of nation, the term "nationalism" is applicable.

Nationalism in this sense is a spiritual phenomenon, which developed in India during the nineteenth century in a particular, "Indian" way, and expressed itself later politically in the National Movement. Without the growth of nationalism and its agitation, it is most unlikely that the partition of Bengal in 1905 would have roused that fervour of opposition as it actually did. Indian nationalism was neither a side-effect, nor the result of the National and Freedom Movement, but its cause!

The national awakening in the nineteenth century in Bengal as well as in the whole of India is usually termed as "Renaissance" or "Revival". But these terms obscure the fact that something completely new had been born: a consciousness of belonging to, and being part of a nation. Former expressions of patriotism and loyalty to the state differ considerably from this new national consciousness, which developed in course of time, changed in character, and grew in intensity.

In the following pages the growth of nationalism will be seen mainly in the aspect of the idea of nation. The concept or idea of "nation" is the central and *sine-qua-non* factor and constitutive element of nationalism, and therefore an indicator of the character of nationalism. An analysis of the concept of "nation" alongside with the observation of different expressions of nationalism may result in the discovery that nationalism is changing not only, as is generally accepted, in force, but in character.

A study of this type is bound to be limited: it has to be selective and it has to give stress on main features, i.e. to be exclusive. It has to use the artificial means of a terminology in order to distinguish different stages in the development of nationalism. Any classification in the field of history is bound to destroy the organic, or rather historic, unity which actually existed, and it may be misused by putting persons, opinions, and events into a "bed of Procrustes." The use of a certain terminology is not meant to force facts into frames but to give an interpretation and to facilitate understanding. The amount of insight gained decides about the quality of the classification and the usefulness of the terminology.

Only with these limitations in view, a study of this kind can be undertaken.

I. THE "RATIONALISTIC" PHASE OF NATIONALISM

The credit to be the father of Indian nationalism is generally given to Raja Rammohan Roy, who, by the universality of his mind and outlook, and his enormous activity, gave an impetus not only in the spiritual and religious field but also in the sphere of education and learning. He was a strong advocate for social reforms as well as for economic changes. Rammohan Roy was not only universal with respect to the variety of subjects to which he contributed, but also in the sense that he combined great scholarship in the fields of European civilization with a deep knowledge of India's cultural heritage.

Being strongly influenced by Bentham's Utilitarianism, Rammohan Roy tended to evaluate matters, whether political or sociological, religious or educational, with a detached mind, and to measure them from the aspect of utility. His attitude of looking at things and evaluate them in such a way has been called "rationalistic".

Rammohan Roy's attitude towards his nation bears a similar stamp He is interested in all that concerns India and devoted to her, but his devotion is balanced by detachment and a critical mind.

His description of India is that of a scientist when he writes: "India, anciently called 'Bharata Varsha', after the name of the monarch 'Bharata', is bounded on its south by the sea; on the east partly by the sea, and partly by ranges of mountains separating it from the ancient China or rather now called Assam, Cassay and Arracan; on the north by a lofty and extensive chain of mountains which divides it from Tibet; and on the west partly by ranges of mountains, separating India from the ancient Persia, and extending towards the Western Sea, above the mouth of the Indus, and partly by this sea itself. It lies between the 8th and 35th degree of north latitude, and 67th and 93rd degree of east longitude."[2]

Looking at India's history, he does not discover a political unity, but he finds a religious and cultural unity, established by adherence to "the same religious principles" and the observation of the "the leading rites and ceremonies taught in the Sanskrit language...."[3]

Rammohan Roy observed with passionate interest the National and liberal movements in Europe. He held the opinion that the national movements in Europe and Asia formed part of the same universal struggle for liberty.[4] Roy does not differentiate between national movements in different countries, but he stresses what they have in common.

The passionate interest with which Rammohan Roy studied the national movements in Europe, indicates what he wished for his own country. Yet, he restrains his wish and suppresses his passion, or rather directs it to another object. Strangely enough, being an admirer of national movements and an advocate of national independence of other nations, Roy does not raise his voice for national independence of his own country. On the contrary, he was in favour of the maintenance of British rule, although not for an indefinite period. It was a purely rationalistic and utilitarian view, when he regarded foreign dominance of his country not as a curse, but as a blessing, which brought "liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects . . . . ".[5] From a long connection with Great Britain, he expected "enlightenment" for his country. This major aim explains his wholehearted support for the introduction of English as medium of instruction and his violent protest against the creation of a Sanskrit College with Hindu Pandits as the teaching staff.[6]

The wish for enlightenment of his countrymen was also the reason, why he supported the idea of the settlement of Europeans on Indian soil.

One would do him greatly wrong, however, if one assumed, that his attitude towards all things "indigenous" was that of despise. Rammohan Roy did an immense service to Bengali language and literature, and he was equally highly aware of the great achievements of Indian Philosophy and Art in the past.[7]

But, if Rammohan Roy had the alternative between Indian tradition and Western progress, he chose the latter. The realization of an ideal of a progressive nation, the model of which he had conceived by comparison with Western nations and from Western thought, was more important to him than the preservation of the past.

Rammohan Roy's nationalism bore the stamp of rationalism: in spite of his esteem for India's past, he was very critical of India's present. And, although he respected the forces of tradition, he did not believe in them as forces to shape the future. He believed in what nations had in common or could have in common, and not in what made them different from each other. He regarded the national movements in Asia and Europe as a common struggle, he looked upon European nationalism as a model and upon achievements of European nations as a goal. Rammohan Roy's contribution to Indian nationalism was the creation of a national consciousness.

A world apart, and yet, in an important aspect akin to Rammohan Roy was Henry Derozio, who, in the short span of his life, inspired the minds of Young Bengal. Different in character and in the expression of his nationalism, the type of his nationalism is the same as Rammohan Roy's.

In both activities, teaching and writting, he reveals paramount influences of Western philosophy and literature. In his poetry, he adopted the language and style of the English Romanticists, when he, in wonderful verses, bewails India's lost greatness:

> "My country! in thy days of glory past
> A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,
> And worshipped as a deity thou wast,
> Where is that glory, where that reverence now?"[8]

Derozio's ecstatic poetry is in character that of Romanticism: glorification of the past and mourning about its loss. Yet although the form of his poetry is "romantic" his nationalism is not inspired by romanticism, if by "romanticism" we mean inspiration by the past, adherence to the traditional, and love of the indigenous. Derozio did not derive his ideals from India's history or tradition, but from European philosophy and literature.

The national movements in Europe roused Rammohan Roy's interest, they inspired Derozio and his followers to an iconoclastic radicalism. The anti-religious teaching of Derozio and the anti-religious actions of his students violated the feelings of many an orthodox Hindu —who would not tolerate the despise of the Goddess Kali. Derozio had no respect for religious sentiments or tradition. His desire was "to summon Hinduism to the bar of their reason."[9] Secular ideas, like those of "natural rights," "liberty", and "equality" determined his outlook.

Whereas in Rammohan Roy's nationalism, which we termed "rationalistic", traces of romantic elements can be detected, Henry Derozio's nationalism is purely "rationalistic" in character. He was inspired by the wish to create a new nation in India with no regard for the uniqueness or the traditions of the country. He was not ready to accept a compromise between the "traditional" and the "progressive"; complete break with the past and the unconditional acceptance of modern ideas and their realization are the main characteristics of Derozio's nationalism.

II. THE "ROMANTIC" PHASE OF NATIONALISM

After the middle of the nineteenth century, and more clearly since the beginning of the sixties, a growing reaction against "rationalism" can be observed. This reaction takes the form of a greater interest in the history of the country, of a new evaluation of traditions and customs, and of a new appreciation of the mother tongue.

The reaction against "rationalism" was also a reaction against foreign influence. In my opinion, the causes must be found in a disappointment after the introduction of English education and the effects of the events of 1857, which, although not a national uprising, was a turning point of national significance. Besides these "negative" causes there were "positive" ones, which brought about the change: the "undigging" of the past and the proof by press and literature, that Indian languages are as good a medium of expression of ideas and emotions in literary works as the English language.

As an example of this reaction, the words of Sisirkumar Ghosh, which he wrote in 1870, may be taken: "India is a civilization of its own. It is a distinct country from England, and its people have distinctive features, acquired by an exclusive civilization of thousands of years. It is not for a foreigner to come and at once unravel the Gordian Knot. It is not for a foreigner to come and analyse the manners, customs, civilization and genius of such an intelligent and exclusive race which India is peopled with."[10]. Sisirkumar Ghosh was opposed to instruction in the English language, as it would, in his opinion, create a division between the educated and uneducated. His strongest argument was that education in English would be ruinous to the nation, for knowledge could not take root in the national mind, if it were imparted through the medium of a foreign language.[11]

This reaction against education in English is only a partial aspect of the spiritual change that had taken place. Its full impact becomes evident, if we look at the new concept of nation. Illuminating are again the words of Sisirkumar Ghosh: "As a nation we live and unlike the Jews, in our own country, with a language, literature, genius, philosophy and a religion of our own."[12]. The manifestations of the nation are regarded as unique, and the nation itself is seen as a living entity, endowed with a genius.

Nationalism was not a matter of the mind, it was a matter of the soul, not of thinking, but of feeling. In 1861, Rajnarain Bose, issued a pamphlet, called "Prospectus for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal."[13] The forces unchained by the penetration of nationalism into deeper layers of the psyche, are tremendous. "Patriotism", Digambar Mitra writes in 1872, "is only developed clanship, and if properly analysed would appear another expression of self-love, although more intelligent and enlightened, which leads a man even to face the cannon's mouth for the defence of his own hearth and home and for glory of his country, with which his well-being is indissolubly bound up."[14]

The ways in which this new nationalism expressed itself and the means by which it was nourished were manifold. The Jatiya Mela (1867) since 1872 the Hindu Mela, fostered national sentiment by annual meetings, exhibition of indigenous arts and crafts, by promoting national literature, by the introduction of gymnastics and the singing of national songs. Nationalism was not any more merely a matter of the mind, but of the whole of man, and promoted, therefore by activities of mind and body.

There is no need to say that the purest expression of nationalism can be traced in literary works, which, in Bengal achieved unexpected heights already long before the genius of Tagore placed Bengali Literature on the level of World Literature.

Pride of the past, love of the native language and literature gave a new meaning to "nation", "national", and "nationalism". "Nation" was not any more conceived as an abstract or foreign ideal, to be realized in the future, but a living organism, the spirit of which expresses itself in many ways. "National" meant to be true to one's heritage, and "nationalism" was imbued with a strong emotional, in order not to say "irrational" element. This stage of nationalism may be called "romantic".

Different from the "romantic" type of nationalism in Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe during the nineteenth century, language did not become the main characteristic of nationality in India. Nationalism, based on tradition and heritage would have violated its basic principle, if it had denied the heritage of India's cultural and religious unity. This was, in my opinion, as strongly a unifying force as was the British rule.

Instead of language, it was religion, that was accepted as the main feature of nationality. In 1872, Nabagopal Mitra wrote in the "National Paper": "Hindu nationality is not confined to Bengal. It embraces all of the Hindu name and Hindu faith throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan; neither geographical position, nor the language is counted a disability. The Hindus are destined to be a religious nation."[15] This nationalism, with its emphasis on religion, is not fundamentally different from nationalism, based upon language. It is, like the latter, just the acceptance of a distinguishing factor of culture as the qualifying factor for nationality, and therefore only a special type of what has been termed romantic" nationalism. Nationality, based on religion was, however, a prerequisite for the next stage, in which nationalism was equalled to religion.

III. THE "RELIGIOUS" PHASE OF NATIONALISM

A new stage in the growth of nationalism was reached with Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who raised nationalism to the level of religion. His contribution was to find a formula for the deification of the nation, out of his knowledge of India's past, by combining a century old idea with the religious spirit of his days in a process of poetical inspiration.

Contrary to Rammohan Roy, who looked upon European and Asian nationalism as part of the same universal movement, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee does not only not admire European nationalism, but condemns it as "being inherently aggressive in character."[16]

In questioning in a "rationalistic" way about the essential of nationalism, he finds two important ingredients: First, "the close identification of interest of the individual with a particular community," and secondly, "the differentiation of the particular community from other communities."[17] Applying this formula to India, he finds, that none of the two elements has "ever been present in India."[17] The inapplicability of this "rationalistic" formula to India induced him to search for a truly Indian basis, and he found it in Indian philosophy and religion.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and this was the decisive step forward from Nabagopal Mitra, did not only accept religion as a characteristic of the Indian nation, but found that the Hindu way of life was religion. To quote his own words: "With other peoples, religion is only part of life; there are things religious and there are things secular. To the Hindu his whole life was religion......."[18]

If Hindu life was religion, all manifestations of it had to be likewise. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was aware, however, that only a simple and great idea could effect the transposition of nationalism from the secular sphere to the religious.[19]

And Bankim Chandra Chatterjee found this idea: in his poetic-philosophical work "Kamalakanter Daptar", he identifies Goddess Durga with Bangabhumi. Yet, he went a step further: he called his country "Mother".[20]

This deification of the nation is an ingenious combination of two ideas the ancient Indian conception of the country as Mother and the religious concept of Durga or Kali as Mother (prevalent in Bengal) to the new idea of the nation as Mother and Goddess Durga (or Kali). The identification of the nation with Durga was bound to appeal to the religious sentiments of all Hindus in Bengal, and the idea of the nation as mother was bound to find response all over India.

The deification of the nation might, however, not have been accepted so swiftly, nor have taken roots so deep in the hearts of his contemporaries and the next generation as it actually did, had Bankim Chandra Chatterjee not given a lively as well as symbolic expression of his idea in the form of a poem, which ranks amongst the best of modern Indian literature: "Bande Mataram".[21] The nation is visualized as Mother and as Durga, a goddess with millions of arms that brandish swords and millions of voices that roar her "name from shore to shore." a dreadful goddess and a sweet mother, feared and worshipped, that is Bankim's poetic picture of the nation.

The deification of the nation logically implies the rise of nationalism to the level of a religion. And in this form, nationalism was bound to appeal to the religious minded masses of India, and it was bound to unleash a hitherto unknown spiritual force: nationalism was not a matter of the mind, nor merely of sentiment, nationalism was a confession and a faith!

It took one more generation before the conversion of the masses began.

The growth of nationalism upto the religious stage is to a large extent influenced by the religious movements in the nineteenth century, and these again were shaped by growing nationalism. It would go beyond the limits of this essay to describe in detail the interconnection between the religious movements and the growth of nationalism. One example gives striking evidence of the interconnection; it is certainly more than merely temporal coincidence, that, when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee propounded the idea of nation as mother and Goddess, Ramkrishna had the vision of the "Divine Mother".

IV. NATIONALISM AND POLITICS

The National Movement beginning with the Indian National Congress and its forerunners; presupposes the growth of a spirit of nationalism: it was not the result of the political movement, but its cause. Nationalism, growing as a spiritual protection, influenced the National Movement, which stood for political, i.e. legal, economic, etc., protection of the country and its inhabitants. It is equally not the object of this essay to describe the political movement. A brief survey of its first stages, confined to an analysis of the spirit of nationalism, may reveal, however, a remarkable semblance or parallel to the development of nationalism as described in its three stages.

Characteristic of the spirit of nationalism in the first phase of the Indian National Congress, is the concept of "nation" and "nationality", which P. Ananda Charlu had, when he spoke to his colleagues in his presidential address at Nagpore in 1891. "Nationality" had the same meaning as the Sanskrit term "Prajah", which, he said, "has but one obvious, unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are......citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme Legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal and woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens."—And about the elements that were regarded in the "romantic" stage as the constituting and determining factors of a nation, Charlu had this to say: "A common language, a common religion, inter-dining, and inter-marriage are, without doubt, potent auxiliaries. These help, no doubt, by affording facilities for co-operation and by rendering easy the attainment of common objects. But for all that, they are at best inseparable accidents, and it betrays a grievous obliquity of judgment to esteem them as constituting the very essence of what is understood by the term *Nation.*"

Charlu's concept of nation is rationalistic and mechanistic, a nation is not growing, but made. The "rationalistic" approach to "nation" is quite congruent with the methods and aim of the Congress policy in this period, the methods being negotiations with the British, the aim being concessions.

Ten years after the foundation of the Congress, Bal Gangadhar Tilak rejected the "academic" methods of the Congress, and with it the "rationalistic" approach to and concept of "nation". Wishing to enlarge the basis of the National Movement and to rouse the masses he adopted new political methods, which were briefly these: promotion of the use of vernaculars and their use in political agitation, the celebration of festivals, the singing and creation of national songs, etc. The festivals, which afforded a marvellous platform for political propaganda, were the Ganapati Festivals for the worship of God Ganesh, and the Shivaji Festivals, Tilak's own creation, in honour of the great Maratha hero Shivaji.

Tilak popularized the National Movement in rousing the sentiments of the people by a conscious appeal to and application of those elements which, at the "romantic" stage, were taken as constitutive for a nation.

Another ten years later, the National Movement enters a new phase with the partition of Bengal. Neither the extremism, nor the mass-movement of those days is solely explicable as a protest against an administrative measure of the British. The political consciousness of the people was awakened, a national sentiment roused, and a religious fervour instilled into nationalism by writings and agitation.

"Bande Mataram" was the war-cry, and thousands gave this solemn vow in the Kali Temple: "Mother, I solemnly promise that to the best of my power I will never use foreign articles......"[23]

The spiritual heads of the new phase of the National Movement in Bengal were Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. Both propagated the idea of the nation as Mother and Goddess Durga or Kali, and nationalism as religion. "Our highest ideal of love and devotion to our country is to be found in our conception of our land as Mother."[24] This deification of the country logically comprised the demand for devotion and sacrifice to the nation, as formulated by Aurobindo Ghosh: "The Mother asks us for no schemes, no plans, no methods....... She asks us for our lives, nothing less, nothing more."[25] Nationalism was not only conceived as a religion and a faith of man, but as a revelation by God, in the words of Aurobindo Ghosh: "Nationalism is a divinely appointed *shakti* of the Eternal and must do its God-given work before it returns to the bosom of the Universal Energy from which it came."[26]

The propagation of the nation as Mother and Goddess and the raising of nationalism to the level of religion are the spiritual causes of the fervour in the National Movement since the beginning of the twentieth century.

Nationalism as religion had certainly a concentrating effect on the minds of the people and had in it the germ of exclusiveness. That it was not narrow-minded or even fanatical, becomes clear from the writings of its greatest propagators: Aurobindo Ghosh[27] and Bipin Chandra Pal.[28] Nationalism, as understood by them, had certainly a cosmopolitan character.

v. CONCLUSION

Nationalism, seen as a spiritual phenomenon, particularly in the aspect of the idea of nation, goes through different phases, which might be termed "rationalistic", "romantic", and "religious".

1. In the "rationalistic" phase, "nation" was an abstract ideal, derived from European thought, and easily definable. Nationalism takes the form of a national consciousness, in which criticism of the present outweighs the pride of the past and the feeling of uniqueness.

2. In the "romantic" stage, "nation" is comprehended by way of description ; not what is common, or should be common to all nations, is stressed, but what distinguishes India from other nations, is important ; the uniqueness, its "genius" that shaped the past and determines the present, in language, literature, religion, philosophy, art, etc. Nationalism draws its energy from achievements in the past and the forces of tradition. Nationalism takes the form of national sentiment.

3. In the "religious" phase, "nation" is accepted as a divine revelation: it is Goddess and Mother. Nationalism becomes a religion, the characteristics of which are faith, devotion, and sacrifice. When nationalism itself is seen as a divine revelation, a transcendental climax is reached, which escapes human explanation.

The National Movement was inspired by nationalism, as described in its phases.

This essay could not be more than a sketch, the very quality of which is to depict main lines only and to stress what seems to be essential. The aim of this attempt was to focus upon the historicity of nationalism and to show that nationalism itself is subject to historical development, not only in a geographical or sociological sense, but in its very essence as a spiritual phenomenon. Comprehensive studies of the Press, of works of literature, novels as well as lyrics and songs, of works on Indian history, and the analysis of the spirit of nationalism, as expressed in them, would be of an immense value for understanding Indian nationalism, and is, therefore, not the task of the literary critic, but of the historian.[29]

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[1] For example: A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Oxford University Press, 1948.

Or: Dietmar Rothermund, Freitheitskamp fund Nationalism us in Indian, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft and Unterricht, 12th year of publication, 1961, P. 549 ff.

[2] Raja Rammohan Roy, The English Works of, by K. Nag and B. Burman, Part III, P.3., Calcutta 1947.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Letter to Mr. Buckingham, 11.8.1821, in: Raja Rammohan Roy, His Life writings and Speeches, Madras (without year), p. 42.

[5] Letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated 11 August, 1821, Publ. in: Raja Ram Mohun Roy, His Life, Writings and Speeches, Madras (without year), P. 45.

[6] Letter to Lord Amherst, publ. in: Sources of Indian Tradition, ed. by Th. de Bary, New York 1958, P. 592 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, P. 580

[8] *Ibid.*, P. 571

[9] Susobhan Chandra Sarkar, Derozio and Young Bengal, in: Studies in the Bengal Renaissance, ed. by A. Gupta, Jadavpur 1958, P. 30.

[10] Quoted by Bimanbehari Majumdar, History of Political Thought from Rammohun Roy to Dayananda (1821-84), Vol. I: Bengal, Calcutta 1934, PP. 337 f.

[11] *Ibid.*, P. 371

[12] *Ibid.*, P. 336

[13] R. C. Majumdar, Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom, Bombay 1961, P. 7.

[14] Quoted by Bimanbehari Majumdar, *op. cit.*, P. 318.

[15] Quoted by Bimanbehari Majumdar, *op. cit.*, P. 294.

[16] Bimanbehari Majumdar, *op. cit.*, P. 428.

[17] *Ibid.*, P. 414

[18] *Ibid.*, P. 411

[19] *Ibid.*, P. 431

[20] Bimanbehari Majumdar, *op. cit.*, P. 417

[21] English translation of "Bande Mataram" in: Sources of Indian Tradition, pp. 711 f.

[22] Presidential Addresses of the Indian National Congress, (1885-1910), Madras 1934, p. 96.

[23] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[04] Bipin Chandra Pal, The Soul of India, 4th ed., Calcutta 1958, pp. 102 f.

[25] Quoted by Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought (1893-1908), Calcutta 1958, p. 41.

[26] Quoted by Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[27] Cp. Vishwanath Prasad Varma, The Political Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, Bombay, 1960, and by the same author: Modern Indian Political Thought, Agra 1961, pp. 390 ff.

[28] Cp. V. P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, pp. 373 ff.

[20] Nemai Sadhan Bose, The Indian Awakening and Bengal, Calcutta 1960, treats the subject of Indian nationalism in the 19th century by describing the different movements, elucational, social, religious, but by giving an analysis of nationalism, based upon sources.

REFORM AND REPRESSION, 1907-1910: AN ANALYSIS OF BRITISH-INDIAN POLICY

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND

Reform and repression indicated the two ways in which the British rulers reacted to the rising tide of national aspirations in India. The reforms were so designed as to disperse and mollify the forces of unrest, while the repressive measures were supposed to "frighten the waverers".[1]

Rigorous centralisation had made the British-Indian government formidable and efficient but also very vulnerable, because the rising forces of nationalism were encouraged by the very structure of the state to flow into the same unitarian mould. At the same time the centralisation restricted the influence and the discretionary powers of the "man on the spot", and the government lost touch with grassroot-politics. The "microscopic minority" of the educated class, however, had gained more and more knowledge of local as well as national affairs, and had thereby enhanced its influence. But the British were unwilling to admit that the educated class represented anybody but themselves, and many colonial apprentices did not know how to undo the spell that they had cast when they found themselves surrounded by those gentlemen "Indian in blood, but English in taste" whom Macaulay's magic formula had produced. In order to reduce its own vulnerability the Government of India pursued a policy of decentralisation and devolution of executive powers combined with a diversification of the non-official element in the legislatures. This diversification was meant to associate with the government the "natural" leaders of the people of a traditional character and, therefore, of conservative inclinations in order to balance the "artificial" radical leadership of the educated class. In assuming that such "natural" leadership still existed in India showed rather romantic tendencies, and it was left to the "man on the spot" to disillusion the higher authorities by pointing out that under the British rule the power of the big landholders had been reduced to that of "a rent-collecting machine"[2], and that "a Tahsildar wields, as the representative of the paramount power, greater authority than a territorial magnate with an income of a lakh of rupees a year."[3]

The liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, insisted on the application of the elective principle in the extension of constitutional reforms and, therefore, the Government of India could not arrive at the desired diversification of representatives by way of nominations. Representation on a territorial basis, however, was not likely to secure the election of "natural" leaders, but would certainly ensure the victory of "Congress Vakils". Consequently the Government of India was strictly opposed to any principle of territorial representation and worked out a representation by "interests", based on a very restricted franchise and on communal and corporate electorates. One of the I.C.S. officers when commenting on the proposals of the Government of India pointed out the pitfalls of this system:

> "Disenfrachisement ... is a policy which explains itself but the proposal is to restrict the electorate to the selection of certain classes of persons. In this way the Government abandons the power of choosing whom it considers most suitable whilst it also hampers the electorate in their choice of the men whom they consider most suitable".[4]

The principle of territorial representation and even the elective principle itself remained a crucial issue throughout the preparation of the reforms. In his various public utterances Lord Morley always tried to keep up the appearance of a harmonious unanimity between himself and the Viceroy.[5] Behind the scenes, however, the Government of India put up a fight in order to defeat Morley's attempt to salvage the principle of territorial representation with his scheme of electoral colleges, while Morley had to protest against last minute attempts of the Government of India to pervert the elective principle by the continuation of the old method of "nomination upon election."

In the course of this battle Lord Minto was apprehensive of deviating opinions in his own camp, particularly if they came from the influential governors of the presidencies, Madras and Bombay, because he feared that such opinions might be taken up immediately by the liberal India-lobby in the House of Commons.

The Governor of Madras, for instance, had his own ideas about the proposed Provincial Advisory Councils. These advisory councils were purely deliberative bodies according to the original reform proposals. They were not supposed to supersede the legislative councils, but they were intended to provide additional facilities for discussion and consultation. Their character was rather ambiguous and lent itself to diverse interpretations. Some of the bureaucrats may have welcomed these councils with a view to use them for consultation only and to set them up against the legislative councils. The educated class, therefore, feared that these councils would be used to stultify their aspirations.[6] The Governor of Madras thought of the large deliberative council which by that time had been in existence in the native state of Mysore for a number of years. This Mysore council consisted of a large number of peasant representatives and contained hardly any oppositional elements of the educated class. Therefore the Government of Madras recommended the establishment of such a council in their despatch to the Government of India. Later on, however, the Governor had second thoughts about this matter. He feared that such an advisory council of an elective nature could easily become a platform for "Congress Vakils" rather than a meeting ground of docile ryots.[7]

Lord Minto was very glad to note these second thoughts of the Governor of Madras and he wrote to him:

> "Personally my object has been in the proposed reforms to secure the representation of landed proprietors and of those who have a stake in the country, and of communities. I have never been enthusiastic over Provincial Advisory Councils . . . I was surprised to find the strong support they met with in official circles here. What I am afraid of is that when our final proposals go home an attempt may be made to enlarge them on a more representative basis to meet the views of the Indian extremists, who are at home accepted as patriots, and of the present House of Commons".[8]

In keeping with this point of view Minto worked out his scheme of separate electorates for the Muslims. Morley, however, in his despatch of November 27, 1908, readily shelved the plan for advisory councils, but made elaborate counter proposals as far as communal electorates were concerned.[9] His scheme of electoral colleges would have guaranteed a fixed percentage of Muslim representatives elected by general electorates. It was therefore welcomed by the Indian National Congress at its session in December 1908. But the Government of India was dead set against this scheme, and Sir H. H. Risley whom Lord Minto had put in charge of the reforms wrote a closely reasoned note in which he refuted Morley's scheme.[10] Risley had made a thorough study of many different electoral arrangements and therefore he was able to score a point over the great disciple of John Stuart Mill. His main objection to Morley's scheme was that it would work well if it was supposed to safeguard adequate representation to a minority of opinion, but it would not work in the case of a minority of sect. Thus an electoral college of 75% Free Traders and 25% Tariff Leaguers would Elect 3 Free Traders and 1 Tariff Leaguer if it were to fill 4 seats in a legislative assembly, but if Hindus and Muslims would have to fill 5 seats in a legislative assembly the following might happen:

> "Let us suppose that there are six candidates, four Hindus and two Muslims, for the five seats on the council: H-1-Hindu pleader, H-2 Hindu journalist, H-3 Hindu barrister having just enough land to qualify as a landholder of the *novus homo*-type, H-4 Hindu landholder of standing, M-1 a really representative Muslim, M-2 a Congress Muslim supported by Hindus. Assume further that the landholders vote solid for H-4 and the Muslims for M-1, that leaves 60 Hindu votes to be cast (total college 100). How should these be given so as to carry the Congress ticket? I suggest that they might be distributed thus: H-1: 5, H-2: 5, H-3: 25, M-2: 25. M-1 and H-4 would be defeated by Congressmen with merely nominal qualifications. As the college can elect only one Muslim and one landholder, the votes cast for M-1 and H-4 are valueless, and the 10 votes still left to the Congress are sufficient to secure the election of a pleader and a journalist, H-1 and H-2".[11]

If Risley would have applied his brilliant brain to the task of working out an adequate solution along the lines of Morley's scheme he might have been able to turn the tide, but Risley sincerely believed in the desirability of representation by "interests" and he genuinely disapproved of territorial representation. In his book on "The People of India" he had said:

> "In considering how a (modern) democracy would work in India it must not be forgotten that caste would provide the party in power, the party that had the spoils to divide with what Americans call a 'machine" surpassing in efficiency the wildest dreams of the most ingenious wire-puller . . . Whatever future centuries may have in store for the people of India, it may be

hoped that they will be spared the misfortune of government by social ostracism."[12]

Romesh Chandra Dutt had pleaded with Risley that he should consider the aspirations of the Indian people whom he knew better than anybody else.[13] But since his studies had led Risley to believe that territorial representation would be detrimental to the people of India it was a foregone conclusion what his recommendations would be.

Risley's opinions were communicated to the provincial governments and in their despatch of February, 1909 the Government of India could tell Morley that his scheme of electoral colleges had been universally condemned.[14] However, before this universal condemnation was achieved there were some anxious moments for Lord Minto. because Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, seemed to have taken a fancy for Morley's scheme,[15] and Lord Minto feared that Sir George might find some workable solution for Morley's scheme by basing it on the municipalities. Risley, who was sure that all the other provincial governments would reject Morley's scheme noted:

> "We can then make out an overwhelming case in favour of communal representation as proposed in our despatch."[16]

And Minto added impatiently: "We cannot allow Sir George Clarke to dictate machinery to us".[17] A few days later, however, Sir George Clarke sent a telegram to Lord Minto in which he pointed out:

> "I feel strongly that we should recognize the Mohammedans as a community. This is already done to some extent as we do (secretly) favour Mohammedans in the matter of appointments whenever a promising candidate presents himself".[18]

Thus unanimity was achieved in India while Morley at home still believed that some variation or other of his scheme might be acceptable even to the Muslims. On January 27, 1909 he addressed a Muslim deputation at the India Office,[19] and suggested among other things an election by separate electorates to local boards which would then send representatives to the legislative council, or direct communal elections to an electoral college which would send a proportionate group of representatives to the legislative council. However, he assured the Muslims that even entirely separate electorates were not strictly ruled out by the proposals made in his despatch. He also told the deputation that the Bill was ready and that he would submit it to the Parliament as soon as possible.[20]. On February 8, 1909 he received the telegram from the Viceroy in which he was informed that his scheme of electoral colleges had been universally condemned, it was further stated that the Government of India disapproved of mere elections, the candidates should be nominated so that undesirable though elected candidates could be kept out.[21] With regard to this latter point Morley decided to stick to his guns and he wired back on February 12 indicating his strong disagreement and insisting on the right of the elected candidates to take their seats without further restrictions.[22] But as far as the electoral colleges were concerned, Morley admitted his defeat and called his own proposals "ambiguous".[23] In explaining the defects of his proposals he paraphrased Risley's argument.[24]

In this way the principle of territorial representation was defeated by the principle of separate communal electorates. The Government of India was all along eager to prove that the representation by "interests" was by no means a novel departure and that territorial representation had never existed under the previous reforms. Sir H. H. Risley delved into the old files in order to vindicate this point:

> "We are now told by the advanced party that territorial representation has been in force in India since 1893, and we are charged with introducing for the first time the idea of representation by interests in order to set class against class and retard national unification and progress. Sir Charles Crossthwaite's draft shows how far this allegation is from truth. It is perfectly clear that the Municipalities and District Boards which are now described as embodying the European principle of territorial representation were introduced into the Government of India's scheme in order to afford a means of representing the urban and rural classes respectively. No doubt the plan failed, both sets of bodies have elected middle class pleaders and not the people they were intended to elect."[25]

The educated class could not fail to notice that this time the Government of India had taken better care to see that the electorates would be formed in such a way as "to elect the people they were intended to elect". The enthusiasm, which prevailed after Morley's proposals had been published at the time of the Congress of 1908, changed into resentment after the regulations of the Government of India became known.[26]

The Government of India had reached its aim of a diversification of "interests" in the legislative councils. Simultaneously the Decentralisation Committee tried to find out ways and means of administrative devolution. Both these measures were intended to reduce the vulnerability of the central government and to disperse the sources of friction and opposition. However, at the same time the government found it necessary to arm itself with a number of repressive laws.[27] The old policy of deporting local leaders without trial under the ancient regulations of 1818 proved to be both insufficient and inconvenient, because it would lead to embarrassing questions in the British Parliament. Moreover, the unrest was so widespread and deepseated that the removal of a few leaders would often be of no avail. Sir H. H. Risley stated:

> 'Hindu mythology, ancient and modern history, and more especially the European literature of revolution are ransacked to furnish examples that justify revolt . . . the side of the Government is feebly represented by a few inconscpicuous papers which as a rule are not read by the persons whose minds are prejudiced by the attack. Sedition has the monopoly of its audience and that audience is large and increasing daily . . . [28].

But the repressive legislation which was supposed to remedy the situation was central legislation and attracted nation-wide attention. The repressive legislation thus served as a focal point of public opinion at the very moment when representation by interests and administrative decentralisation were supposed to diffuse agitation and opposition. Furthermore the repressive legislation discredited the Moderates who were willing to cooperate with the government in order to make the constitutional reforms a success.

The Government of India was in a difficult position. They had to pay attention to adverse criticism in the House of Commons, where the liberal India-lobby would be prepared to ask question about each and every political prisoner, while the conservative opposition would advise that under the prevailing circumstances no reforms should be granted to India. The Government of India also suffered from a lack of accurate information about the extent and the nature of revolutionary unrest.[29]

The position of the government became especially delicate in 1910 when there was a high tide of political crime, a vigilant Parliament at home, and a reformed council in India. The detention of nine Bengali leaders had attracted particular attention. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal recommended their further detention,[30] and later on submitted an additional list of 53 men who should be deported in the interest of law and order.[31] These 53 men belonged mostly to the generation of Aurobindo and Gandhi (*i.e.*, they were born around the year 1870), a generation that had grown up as "angry young men" and that had little in common with the older Moderate leaders.

The Government of India, however, had come to the conclusion that the policy of deportation had failed, and therefore the Viceroy did not permit the deportation of these 53 men and also ordered the release of the nine detenus. But this was done only after the elections for the reformed council were over so that the nine Bengal leaders were unable to obstruct the elections.

The motivations for this new policy were debated within the Government of India.[32] One member of the Government felt that the Viceroy had succumbed to pressure from the liberal home government and that this implied a humiliation of the Government of India. Lord Minto held that this contention was unjustifiable and that he had been most careful to avoid this very position of a humiliation of the Government of India at the hands of the home government. He stated that he had gained his point with the Secretary of State that the detenus should be released after the elections to the reformed councils. He also pointed out that the release of the detenus made a favourable impression on the reformed council, the council being prepared to pass a repressive measure in which the government were very much interested. The Viceroy was also aware of the fact that a deputation backed by influential Muslim support was under way to ask for the release of the detenus.

In commenting further on the release of the detenus Lord Minto, however, conceded that he was very much aware of the mounting pressure at home which came first of all from the Labour party on the support of which the liberal home government had to rely. He knew that if the Government of India would be overruled in a matter of interior administration out of deference to the position of political parties in England British power in India would suffer. He was, therefore, wise enough to forestall such dangerous consequences by a well timed release of the detenus.

However, the policy of deportation had anyhow proved to be a failure as measure for the repression of widespread unrest. The Government of India decided that it would be better to perfect the repression of the symptoms of unrest, *i.e.*, seditious meetings, the seditious press and the schools set up by the national education movement.[33] But even in such cases the Government of India had to watch its step. When Aurobindo was prosecuted for a seditious article "To my countrymen" which had been published in his paper "Karmayogin", the Secretary of State telegraphed for a full copy of the article, because he suspected that the article might prove to be a rather weak foundation for the prosecution.[34]

The action aginst certain schools of the national education movement was not such a difficult problem, first of all if it could be shown that the schools had set "seditious question papers" or had prescribed seditious text-books. Thus some national schools were proscribed as unlawful associations.[35] But the national education movement as a whole could not be attacked that easily, because it was liberally endowed and in its central organs under Moderate leadership. Indeed, the cooperation of Moderates and Extremists in the national education movement irritated the Government of India considerably, because in all other fields of activity the Government had been able to drive a wedge between the Moderates and the Nationalists. The policy of driving a wedge between Moderates and Nationalists was also applied in the "Hindu Punch" defamation case. This paper had attacked the Moderate leader G. K. Gokhale and the Government of India stated with regard to this case: "We have often been charged with deserting our friends, here we shall come forward in defence of our most effective critic".[36]

For the time being this policy was highly successful and much of the energy of the nationalists was diverted into the channels of in-fighting between Extremists and Moderates. Gokhale who had once been a universally respected national leader, became the object of bitter invectives in the Extremist press.[37]

Party politics at home and the national awakening in India put the Government of India to a severe test. The old autocratic methods were challenged in the House of Commons and in the nationalist press in India. Therefore the Government of India resorted in this era of reform and repression more and more to a policy of manipulation of "interests" at home as well as in India. Constitutional reform, administrative decentralisation and repressive legislation were made to serve the purpose of a manipulative maintenance of power. Lord Curzon had cherished the ideal of social and administrative efficiency and had antagonized people in India as well as in England. Lord Minto was more successful because he was able to gauge the trends of the time and in manipulating these trends he could give them a twist which made the political developments more amenable to his influence. He kept the Secretary of State on his right side without intending to adhere to the liberal principles of the political philosopher John Morley. He left to India the legacy of separate communal electorates, but this twist which he gave to Indian constitutional reforms became a Gordian knot only due to the subsequent Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which built responsible government on the unsuitable foundations of the Morley-Minto Reforms.

Lord Morley had stated that the reforms sponsored by him were not intended to introduce the parliamentary form of government into India. But the later reformers derived their ideas from Lord Durham's report on Canada in which the inevitable clash of popularly elected legislatures with an irremovable executive had been so dramatically described. Any further advance along the lines of the Morley-Minto reforms would lead to a similar clash, as later reformers thought. However, it would have been possible to build a federal executive of the Swiss type on the foundations of a representation by "interests", but responsible government implied territorial representation. The denial of territorial representation in 1909 and the announcement of the intention to introduce responsible government (1917) queered the pitch for the British in India's constitutional development.

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[1] cf. Letter of the Government of India to provincial governments on the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act, Home Department Proceedings, Feb. 1910, 131-41.

[2] J. B. Bedford, Collector, Tanjore, Government of Madras, Feb. 18, 1908 in Home Department Proceedings, Oct. 1908, 116-48, Vol., II p. 800.

[3] Narendra Nath, Dy. Comm. Gujrat, Panjab, *loc. cit.* Vol. III p. 1398.

[4] Bedford *loc. cit.* 5.

[5] Morley, Speeches, ed. Natesan, Madras, p. 112, 202.

[6] Letter of the Mahajana Sabha, Madras, to Sec. Govt. of India. Feb. 25, 1908 in Home Department Proceedings *loc. cit.* Vol. III. p. 2005.

[8] Home Department Proceedings, *loc. cit.* Vol. I. p. 509.

[9] Morley, Speeches, *op. cit.*, Appendix A p. 1 ff.

[10] Home Department Proceedings, Feb., No. 205-44, (note of Jan. 5, 1909 11)

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Sir H. H. Risely, "The People of India" Chapter: Caste and Nationality p. 274 ff.

[13] Home Department Proceedings, *loc. cit.* Vol. III, p. 2024.

[14] Home Department Proceedings, Feb. 1909, No. 205-44, p. 239.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.* Jan. 10, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.* Jan. 15, 1909.

[18] *Ibid.* Jan. 24, 1909.

[19] Morley, Speeches, *op. cit.*, p. 206 ff., especially p. 214.

[20] *Ibid.* p. 210.

[21] Home Department Proceedings, Feb., 1909, No. 205-244, p. 239.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[23] Morley, Speeches, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[25] Home Department Proceedings, *loc. cit.* Vol. I. p. 448, the reference is to Sir Charles Crossthwaite's draft of 1892.

[26] Congress Presidential Addresses, ed. Natesan, Madras, p. 796 ff. (Presidential Address of 1909, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya)

[27] Seditious Meetings Act 1907 extended 1910, Explosive Substances Act, Encitement to Offences......in Newspapers Act 1908, An Act for the better control of the press, 1910 etc.

[28] Home Department Proceedings, July 1910, No.5-32.

[29] Home Department Proceedings, July 1910 No. 5-32, Lord Minto notes: "Do we know anything of the physical force party. Do we know their leaders... As far as I can judge the Govt. of India knows practically nothing......

[30] Home Department Proceedings, Feb. 1910, No. 36.

[31] Home Department Proceedings, March 1910, No. 33-40.

[32] Home Department Proceedings, March 1910, No. 33-44.

[33] cf. Home Department Proceedings, Feb. 1910, No. 136-41 on extension of Seditious Meetings Act/Home Department Proceedings, March 1910, No. 42-46/ July 1910 No. 5-32 regarding a greater control over the press/for national schools see footnotes 35.

[34] Home Department Proceedings, Dec. 1910, No. 14-42.

[35] Home Department Proceedings, June 1910, No. 26-40/Aug. 1910, 26-38.

[36] Home Department Proceedings, Jan. 1910, No. 154-164.

[37] Reports on Native Newspapers, Bombay, 1909.

ARGUMENTS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN FAVOUR OF DECENTRALISATION IN INDIA—AT THE TIME OF THE PASSAGE OF PITT'S INDIA ACT, JUNE-JULY, 1784.

BARUN DE

The centralised structure of administration that is typical of the Indian Union today, is a legacy of British unification, but it did not emerge at the same time as the earliest legislation, passed in Parliament for the systematical government of India. The Regulating Act, for instance, drafted at a time when "in 1773 both the theory and the experience were lacking, which are requisite for adapting English institutions to new and foreign circumstances", had three great defects, according to Sir Courtenay Ilbert:

> "as to the nature and extent of the authority exerciseable by the Governor-General and his Council, as to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and as to the relation between the Bengal Government and the Court. The ambiguities of the Act arose partly from the necessities of the case, partly from a deliberate avoidance of new and difficult questions of constitutional law".[1]

The Act was also obscure and defective as regards the nature and extent of the authority exerciseable by the Governor and his Council (itself an internally divided and mutually checking body, as named in the Act) and the Governors and Councils in the dependencies of Madras and Bombay, which were senior to Calcutta in years, though not in wealth and access to the prosperous markets of Northern India. The imperial legislators of 1774 while they introduced the 18th century Western Seaboard British Imperial idea of royal Governors in territories where British subjects governed autonomously by a royal charter, were still conservative enough to refrain from introducing innovations, which would rationalise the relation between clashing and perennially discordant authorities. When Madras and Bombay went to war, the latter against Poona in 1775 and the former against Mysore in 1780, the premier Presidency was dragged into war in their wake. As E. P. Moon says: "the authority given to . . . Bengal over the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras was so vague as to be practically nugatory".[2] Warren Hastings had put the situation picturesquely, when he wrote that the Act gave him and his Council a negative power (to revoke decisions of subordinate Presidencies, but not to stop their inception, *i.e.*, a check but no control) and no more.[3] In fact, all that can be said in favour of the Regulating Act of 1773 is that "it did . . . . represent a genuine attempt to reach a fair compromise between conflicting interests".[4] This is not very much to say in favour of legislation begun at a time of crisis.

Hastings's complaints found an echo in Lord North's Treasury which was informally in charge of the control of Leadenhall Street, *i.e.*, the decisions taken by the Courts of Directors and Proprietors of the East India Company; as well as in charge of the inception of amendments, when the Company's charter came up for renewal. Robinson, the Secretary concerned, wrote in a cabinet memorandum on the latter subject:

> "it is doubtful whether some special powers should not be given to the Governor-General singly; Hastings and I believe Clavering recommend this".[5]

He was not sure whether the Governor-General should be given powers to override his Council; but was certain that Madras and Bombay should in some way be decisively subordinate to Bengal. Fresh disasters in the wars started by Madras and Bombay led to renewed Parliamentary outcry for retrospective enquiries into the circumstances which made such imbroglios possible. The Committee of Secrecy set up to enquire into these matters was packed with the supporters of North: under the leadership of the Chairman, Henry Dundas, it created powerful Parliamentary opinion, through the medium of its Six Reports against alleged misrule by Company's servants of Indian princes, and against administrative breakdown and weakness in India. Dundas clearly formulated that the problems of British rule in India could best be solved by firmly locating authority in British India (a term used now, perhaps, for the first time) in the hands of a central, unitary Viceroy and Captain-General of the British armies in the Indies; an expedient clearly influenced by Dutch imperial practice and by British imperial practice in the newly conquered dominion of Canada. This was clearly stated—much more clearly than is commonly believed by all historical writers on the subject—in the Draft Bill which was the result of the Committee's labours, and is known as Dundas's Bill, meant to better regulate the government of the British possessions in India.[6] Though the Bill was unsuccessful, due to being brought forward just after Dundas's political friends had fallen from power and the Fox-North Coalition formed a Ministry pledged to legislate for India, yet the idea of centralised legislation was wedded in the popular mind with Dundas's proposals.[7] His ideas were interpreted as military despotism both by Whig opponents who held to the constitutional principles of the Revolution of 1689, like Charles James Fox, or by appreciative Tory supporters like Dr. Johnson, who did not like too many checks on even the limited monarchy of Britain, or on the powers of imperial governors overseas. Dundas's proposal to delegate extensive civil, military and subordinate legislative powers to a man of aristocratic birth and military training, untramelled and unfettered by checks and balances of the orthodox brand of regional Royal Councils, was almost a revolutionary proposal in the context of British ideas about a constitution whose greatest virtue was supposed to lie in its checks and balances. In such a "constitutional balance" the fountainhead of authority was limited monarchy; since the early seventeenth century, the progressive elements of the merchants, gentry and nobility had striven to maintain checks and controls on the growth of arbitrary power, that was independent of parliamentary control. On the other hand, the Foxite Whigs wished to carry to logical extremes, this tendency of checking and controlling the growth of power in distant dependencies. They planned to set up a Board, nominated by the majority in the House of Commons, and not even as was traditional out of the Royal Privy Council, since they professed to distrust the political inclinations of King George III. The seat of centralised authority would still be London; and not in distant Calcutta. But a mortal blow would be dealt to the power of the Company, according to the sense of Fox's India Bills, for the seat of authority would not more be Leadenhall Street, but Westminster.

It was Fox's Bills of November, 1784, which brought together those who shared Dundas's views—notably William Pitt the younger, who had emerged as the leader of all those who found Fox's emphasis on the role of the Commons too extremely popular for their liking[8] and the mercantile vested interests, whose position was the issue at stake, most of whom disliked all constitutional innovation, but most of all, that which hit at their own position. This coalition of mutual fears[9] helped the King to dismiss the Fox-North Coalition. Pitt was at first Prime Minister with only the Lords and a Commons minority behind him; and consequently was unable to pass a first Bill on India, in which Dundas planned to set up an unitary Secretary of State, a Royal servant to govern the Company. The Whiggish bent of the House was however liquidated in the General Election of April 1784, which gave Pitt and Dundas a sufficient majority to pass any legislation they wanted on India.[10]

This does not mean that the new House was united behind Pitt. The complex "interests" which made up the East India Company numbered many members in the House of Commons, and with true mercantile instincts, they put up a fight to see that their interests in the government of India were maintained, interests which they felt had given the British public what profit it had in India and which they had laboriously developed. They did not agree with all the proposals of the new Ministry and the scope of disagreement can be best studied in the split that took place among Pittites and the Company's interests in July, 1784.

It has been supposed that Dundas wrote the first draft of Pitt's second Bill, *i.e.*, the one which, modified, was to become the India Act of 1784. Materials for analysing the objections to Dundas's drafts of the Bill of mid-1784 will be found in the papers of William Pitt in the Chatham Papers in the Public Record Office in London. On the 14th June, 1784, the Court of Directors of the Company sent a letter to Pitt remonstrating against the proposals for direct remittance of orders to India by Ministers in Whitehall over the heads of the Court in Leadenhall Street. This proposal would have been tantamount to Fox's plan, without incurring the recent odium of an attack on chartered rights. The Directors were quick to expose the legal fiction involved. They had fought Fox's attack on their property; they now put up their usual fight against Dundas and Pitt's encroachments on their prerogative. The memorandum of the Court of Directors clearly said:

> "The Court is of opinion that to the extent stated in this clause (of the new draft Bill) the power thereby given would at one blow annihilate the Company's Government".[11]

In July, a comprehensive memorandum was drawn up for the use of the drafters at the Treasury, *i.e.*, Pitt and Dundas. The word "direct" was to be deleted from the clause of the Bill which said that the new "Board (of Control) to direct, superintend and control all acts of civil and military government." All official papers of the Company should not be carted off, whenever called for by the office of the Board. Only the particular types to be sent were to be specified. It was admitted that there might be an argument in favour of residuary powers in the hands of the Board to initiate orders on the ground that there might otherwise be

> "a doubt which of the two bodies would stand responsible for delay or negligence."

But the Directors did not give way without a qualification. Such a power

> "might become highly dangerous in times of Political contest or unsteady Administration."[12]

The postulate that centralisation of authority in the hands of a Board at Westminster would lead to it becoming the plaything of party politics was a slogan which conservatives in the Company would make very popular in the nineteenth century.

Dundas's Draft Bill of 1783 had proposed to unite the functions of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. The present plan was much less radical. The Commander-in-Chief was to be nominated by the Crown. The Directors protested. They proposed that the second-in-Command in each Presidency army should by statute be a Company's officer. This would encourage the latter in their hopes of promotion, and the chances of getting rewards for coming to India. This is an echo of controversies during the Mysore War of the foisting of officers—notoriously Dundas's Scots nominees like Lord Macleod getting brevet ranks above senior Company's officers, which affected the chances of promotion and financial profit of the latter. The trend of the Company's objection showed that it was concerned with the financial prospects of its servants in India, *vis-a-vis* servants of the Crown.

Bengal Presidency should not be allowed to interfere in "the

> interior detail . . . of administration",

of other Presidencies, since

> "Such a Regulation will reduce these Presidencies to mere Subordinate Factories and deprive them of all that Respect and Energy which in many instances it may be necessary for the Publick Welfare that they should possess and exercise in instances where the Bengal Government is precluded by its distant situation from effective interference".[13]

This is the clearest statement, and one of the earliest such, of the belief among Company's servants and Directors that mercantile initiative ("Respective and Energy" are 18th-century synonyms for those modern entrepreneurial virtues, "prestige" and "enterprise"), mercantile initiative, we repeat, was a sort of reflex of freedom and liberty from higher economic and administrative controls. Adam Smith had said much the same sort of thing with reference to *laissez-faire i.e.*, freedom of trade from mercantilist controls. Of course, here it was used to different purpose to defend monopoly controls.

The Directors stipulated that even if the Governor-General in Calcutta was made supreme over the Presidencies, still Madras and Bombay should be allowed to send home papers separately, *i.e.*, if necessary without the check of the Governor-General. Also their accounts should not be consolidated in the general budget of India, which was proposed in Pitt's India Bill. On the other hand, the Governor-General was to be held responsible for all the acts of hostility committed by inferior Governors. The Court showed itself to be impractical in this attempt to cling to the system established by the Regulating Act. It wished to enjoy the benefits of mercantile initiative which were created by decentralised control, and also to penalise such acts as Rumbold's initiation of Hyderabad policy in 1778-79 (regarding the Guntur Circar) or Hornby's responsibility for the long continuance of the Maratha War, by holding Hastings, for instance, solely responsible for it. This was directly contrary to the train of Hastings's verdict on the Regulating Act. It was also a typical example of the tendency of the Company as regards Indian policy, of leaving a door open for expansion and aggrandisement, but also erecting a prominent gallows for a scapegoat.

Finally the Court was vehement and contemptuous in its opposition to the doctrine of the restoration of land and jurisdiction to the ancient owners, as well as to the doctrine of "the fixing of a permanent Rent on lands which never shall be varied".[14] The first doctrine enumerated had emerged first in the allegations made, during the proceedings of (Burke's) Select Committee of 1781 against Hastings's *ijaradari* system

(1775-1780) and the Supreme Court's behaviour, notoriously in the Kasijora and the Burdwan Cases. The second doctrine had been voiced first by lone free merchants in North India like Alexander Dow, the author of the *History of Hindostan,* or by Franco-Scottish *Agronomes* like Henry Patullo who had Physiocratic leanings: it was taken up and given theoretical elegance by Philip Francis the opponent of Warren Hastings in the Bengal Council—in his publication of the *Original Minutes on the Permanent Settlement in Bengal.*[15] Dundas had supported the first doctrine in his speech of 14th April, 1782 in the Commons, attacking the administration of the Company's servants; and the second in his speech of 15th April, 1783, when he brought forward his plan for the government of British India. Here he planned to leave local government, including justice as well as revenue among the functions of the landholder, whose relations with the *raiyats* were to be stabilised by granting *pattas* (or tenancy deeds) to the latter.[16] This would be a sort of "indirect rule" for India; centralised administration for the main structure by military governors, local government by indigenous landlords. The 1784 Bill provided for the inclusion of a directive clause that both doctrines should be implemented by people on the spot in India.

The Directors were vehemently antagonistic:

> "How consonant so ever the Clauses may be to popular opinions grounded on the Laws, Manners and Customs of England, it is a Duty which this Court owes to the Trust vested in them and to the Company to declare their unanimous and clear opinion that if these Clauses pass into a Law to be promulgated throughout the Company's possessions in India, they will produce the utmost degree of confusion and endanger the subversion of all Government".

Thus they clearly believed that the proposal for a Permanent Settlement of revenue sprang from the British pattern of landownership, which had prospered and been used to "improve" the land, because the tax on land was fixed and unitary in Britain. The merchants of Leadenhall Street do not specifically mention the Physiocratic theories justifying the latter. The influence of these ideas on the early schools of Permanent Settlement have recently been convincingly shown by Ranajit Guha. But Leadenhall Street was not concerned with Physiocratic ideas. Their arguments were mercantile and pragmatic.[17]

They postulated five main arguments against the Permanent Settlement. If in fact any individual had been dispossessed or oppressed by a British subject and this contravened "the laws of his country", *i.e.,* of Britain, as interpreted by the Supreme Court,

> "the Courts of Justice are competent to administer relief...."

If any Prince had been oppressed "by our Government in India", then surely he would not get redress from the Government; or in the last resort from the Court of Directors "under the superintendance of the Board of Control". The draft postulated a situation in which

> "this Court had before them complaints of Rajah, Zemindars, Polygars, etc., complaining of all the multiplied Oppressions with which the Public mind has been inflamed. No such complaints are before them, and therefore there is nothing for them to transmit special orders upon."

The fling implicit in these lines, is clearly meant against Burke, whose Commons speech of 1st December, 1783, had deeply scored the public mind of Britain and of posterity. The fling might also have been aimed obliquely at Dundas's anti-Hastings and anti-Rumbold proceedings in Parliament. They were taking a very legalistic view of the problem; one tantamount to the modern view taken by some modern historians, who refuse to believe that Bengalis in 1775 could have objected to or been shocked by the execution of the Brahman, Nandakumar, on the ground that no petitions were preferred in the British Parliamentary form. The landholders of India, with the exception of the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore were still not used to the business of petitioning Parliament, or Leadenhall Street, whose sovereignty over them was only just emerging. They still preferred the more antiquated means of being decimated by excessive revenue demands, or rising in agrarian revolt as in Burdwan in 1767, in Jalpaiguri in 1773-75, or in Rangpur in 1780-81. The Permanent Settlement might not have been the best settlement for their problems; but the attitude of the Directors was even less comprehending than the fumbling efforts of Philip Francis and Dundas.

The Directors thought that the Permanent Settlement would create a new source for corruption in the assessment of revenue. It would also deprive

> "the Government on the Spot of those Powers, which grow out of the nature of the Constitution, Religion and Manners, and fixing permanent rights inconsistent therewith and which the Inhabitants held or pretended to hold under their native Sovereign..."

The historical merits or nature of this argument was to be much debated and contested in the next decade by Grant, Boughton Rouse, Gurreeb Doss (John Prinsep) and others. Even if the practice of escheating the property of deceased landholders was the practise of Mughal sovereigns, it is doubtful if this was really beneficial for the "improvement", *i.e.*, re-investment of profits in the indigenous economy; and it is certainly doubtful whether escheat was practically possible or continuously practised in regions distant from the Mughal imperial centre.[18]

It was also argued by the Directors that a Permanent Settlement of revenue on a specific class would be uneconomical for the people in India; also detrimental to the revenue of the Company, and hence the size of its Investment. It would thus be detrimental to the stability of

British power in India. This is a clear notion of imperial power in India being meant for the mercantile profit of Britain. The conception of "Indian people" seems to us to be hypothetical rather than actual; to be identified more with the justification of British dividends to be gained from India.

A corollary of this type of argument was that "the Rents of lands must in their nature vary"

Consequently a fixed single tax would of necessity be wasteful of revenue in some cases and inequitable in others. This argument is directly counter to Physiocratic theories fashionable at the time. The merchants concerned with maximisation of profit believed, not least because they found it convenient to believe, that economic institutions like rent on land—which they muddled with land tax levied by the state—were not universal in character, but varied according to circumstances. This is a perennial conservative attitude to the problem of maximisation of profit.

The Directors then proceeded to the argument that "subordinate Governments" in India *i.e.*, Madras and Bombay should not be cut off from the chance of coping with sudden financial exigencies; by means of varying the rate of taxation on land. This was a defence of a provincial decentralised freedom of action—(a) repetition of the mercantile initiatives argument; and what is really somewhat different, (b) action by men on the spot.

Finally, the Directors argued that if the Indian princes and *zemindars* were freed of the chance of variation in nett demand by higher authority, they would oppress their peasantry. What seemed a greater danger to the Directors' view of British power in India, the zemindars would "be freed of increasing Expence in case of War." This would make it difficult to ensure permanency of British power in India, since secure in their own power, the zemindars might become rebellious.

This controversy brings out certain elements in the history of the 1782-84 crises about Indian legislation, which are not often stressed by historians, even by Dr. Philips, who has done some original research on the passage of the 1784 India Act.[19] For one thing, the Directors of the East India Company, even Atkinson whom Furber and Philips consider the main Government advisor at this time, were united in emphatic disagreement with many of the premises of the Government, notably as regards centralization of higher administrative powers, as well as the direction to Indian authorities to restore the power of Indian landholders and to establish a fixed, unitary tax on land. This disagreement was conducted on lines of clear argument, and the arguments were cogently premised and represented a clearly conservative attitude as regards maintenance of the Company's mercantile privileges, position and profits. In this attitude may be seen the seeds of much conservative thought, still nourished today in British mercantile circles and in Imperial industrial lobbies, about the position, if not of India, then of countries in the Commonwealth like Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The remonstrations of the Directors are also examples of the strength of the pragmatic English opposition to novel theory, either in the constitutional area of the creation of centralised powers in distant dependencies, or in the field of economic speculation about the detrimental effects on mercantile authority of centralization, or in the region of economic theory about the impracticability of preconceptions regarding the necessity of a fixed unitary tax on land.

In July, 1784, the Court of Directors still looked upon its authority in India as a source of mercantile profit. The Company suggested that the best means of Indian progress lay in emphasising local and mercantile initiative. If oppression had been practised, relief was best given to individuals by local judiciaries, and not by the interposition of the legislature in Britain. This was part of a general theory being mooted at this time by pro-Hastings pamphleteers against the presuppositions of Dundas's Draft Bill of 1783 that the Indian peasant was somehow different from the normal "*homo-economicus*" and more comparable to the notorious Scottish Highland peasantry, in terms of economic conditions, propensities and perpetual subsistence levels of capital supply and income returns. Consequently British notions of legislative reform for their welfare or happiness were decried as useless and even mischievous: the pamphleteer, Captain Price knew

> "nothing so preposterous as the idea of framing laws in an English House of Commons, for the interior government of Hindoostan. It strikes on my imagination from all sides, with such full-blown absurdity that I cannot bear to think of it."[20]

A closer analysis than is possible within the scope of this paper would show the inconsistencies of Price's argument, which was trumpeted against the Draft Bill of 1783. This paper is only meant to bring the attitude of the Directors before the notice of modern readers. Their Resolutions of July, '84 shared Price's anathema. This attitude has since recurred in many criticisms of statutory or planned legislation for Indian development. Whatever the merits of the criticism, at the back of it all is the demand of *laissez-faire*, of freedom to private enterprise, unhampered even by legislative controls. In this case, *laissez-faire* was postulated in an effort to guard the existence of entrenched interests. It is often used for the defence of the monopolist. 1784 was not the last time when Individualistic arguments of unrestricted taxation demand, decentralised administrative controls, and *laissez-faire* have gone hand in hand.

Finally, we may sum up what was passed in Pitt's India Act in July-August, 1784 with reference to the objected points. The Company's objections to the superior power of the Board were overruled. Royal authority over the Company was clearly stated. A disputed interpretation on payment of troops, however, would lead to the Declaratory Act of 1788, which finally settled this question. Second, the Commander-in-Chief was to be nominated by the Company. Dundas's proposal of civil and military powers in the hands of a military aristocrat was kept in abeyance, but became absolutely necessary when Cornwallis made it a condition of going to India with civil and military powers. It was made possible for the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to be one and the same man, if so appointed, by the Act of 1786. But the incentives to promotion for officers of the Company's Army which the Directors pleaded for, were allowed to remain. Bengal was given certain powers of controlling the two other Presidencies. But as Ilbert has noted, this was limited to the negotiation of war and peace, to the raising of revenue and the use of troops.[21] The 1784 Act for the first time legislatively put into effect what Dundas had said in 1782 in his charges against Indian Governors: "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures, repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation".[22] But the control of Bengal over Madras and Bombay were not any more clearly stated than to remedy evils publicised in the Wars with the Marathas and Mysore from 1775 to 1782. Hastings' verdict on the Regulating Act was accepted, but Dundas's extreme logic of the creation of an apex of full and almost dictatorial centralised power in Calcutta was not. Finally a point not stressed by 19th and 20th century historians, a directive was passed for authorities on the spot to enquire into the need for (not yet to promulgate) the Permanent Settlement in India.[23] This was to be conditioned by

> "principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India".[24]

"Permanent Rules" were to be formulated according to the Regulation-making power of the Governor-General-in-Council, after enquiries had been made about the complaints of Rajahs, Zemindars, Polygars and Talukdars about unjust deprivation of rights and lands,

> "by which their respective tributes, rents and services shall in future, be rendered and paid to the Company".[24]

There were many other clauses of the India Act of 1784, which may be dealt with in another paper. The nett result of our enquiry here has been to analyse the attitude of the Company to the novel tendency of centralization, at the same time as a sort of foreshadowing of Lugard's "Indirect Rule" in Africa in the 19th century was created by the attempt to restore landholders to ancient rights as well as to a position of autonomy in the eighteenth century state. The Company put up barricades all along the line, to Pitt and Dundas, as much to Fox and Burke, in 1784 as much as in 1783 and 1782. The Pittites were ultimately victorious by 1793, on practically all that they wanted. But true to the spirit of British legislative tradition, both sides compromised. Both wished to maintain Indian customs and Indian social and even more prescriptive legal usage; this toned down their extremism, so as not to precipitate fractional conflict, and thus preserve the Empire, which it was the aim of all this legislation to stabilise. In this respect, both were conservatives: the Company of the mercantile brand, the Pittites of a reforming nature. Neither were extremists. Consequently the heritage of administrative ideas that each left, tended in thirty years to be muddled; the model of which is James Mill, who disliked centralization but at the same time craved for efficient Parliamentary control. Passing through such intellectual mediums, the idea of decentralization, now divested of any necessary concern with the Permanent Settlement, but inextricably linked with the slogans professed by the "Friends of India" came to find nineteenth-century exponents in Joseph Hume, John Bright and John Dickinson, and through them, passed into mid-nineteenth century nationalist lore. But the vicissitudes of the ideas of administrative decentralization in India deserve a paper to the subject itself.

[1] Ilbert, Sir C. *The Government of India...with Historical Introduction and Illustrative Documents* (Oxford, 1898) 55, 53.

[2] Moon, Penderel, *Warren Hastings and British India* (London, 1947) 137.

[3] Quoted in *Cambridge History of India,* V.

[4] Moon, *op. cit.* 136. This book endeavours to defend the Act.

[5] British Museum, Additional Mss. 38398 (from the Liverpool Mss.) f. 113 John Robinson to Charles Jenkinson (later first Earl of Liverpool), summer, 1778: [cited in Sutherland, Lucy S. *The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics* (Oxford, 1952) 340, also 338, footnote.]

[6] The present writer believes that he is the first to have analysed in detail the entire contents of the Bill; as preserved in a loose, miscellaneous copy in the National Archives of India, entitled "Mr. Dundas's Bill". He is greatly in the debt of Mr. Sourindranath Roy, now acting Director of Archives, India, who found the document and with his pre-eminently distinguished knowledge of Indian history, emphasised to the writer, the significance of the fact that it seemed never to have been published; and would open new vistas in constitutional history.

[7] *Cf.* footnote 10.

[8] *Cf.* Stanhope, Earl, *Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt with Extracts from his Mss. Papers* (London, 1879) I.

[9] *Cf.* Lord Gower's fear expressed to Lord Mansfield that "the same principle which would take from the Company their charter, might have deprived him of his estate." Gleig, Rev. G. R., *Memoirs of Rt. Hon'ble Warren Hastings and etc.* (London, 1841) III, 102-3.

[10] A fuller discussion of each point raised in each line of the preceding two paragraphs, which have been very fragmentarily dealt with in the books on Indian history and on Dundas, will be found in this writer's Oxford D.Phil. thesis entitled *"Henry Dundas and the Government of India, 1773-1801: A Study in Constitutional Ideas"*, (presented in 1961) Chs. II to IV.

[11] Philips, C. H., *The East India Company, 1783-1833* (Manchester, 1940) 31 and footnote 3, mentions a draft which Dundas, "almost certainly drew up". The

source is mentioned as "Chatham Papers, P.R.O. 358, June, 1784. "I have searched P.R.O. 30/8, *i.e.*, the Chatham Papers, including bundle 358, but have found no document of the sort Dr. Philips mentions. On p. 32, footnote 1, he mentions another draft dated 29.6.1784. In the absence of further light on the subject, Philips, *East India Company*, is treated for the time being as a primary authority, whose testimony should not be in doubt.

The papers that I have used (which have not been utilised to any appreciable extent in Philips, *op. cit.*) are to be found in P.R.O. 30/8/353 (entitled East India Directors and Proprietors of, 1. Resolutions and Proceedings) ff. 25-43. These are copies of Resolutions of the Court of Directors of the 14th June and the 16th July, 1784. These mention points in the Draft, only to controvert them. For the reference above, cf. Philips, *loc. cit.*, and P.R.O. 30/8/353, ff. 25-26.

[12] P.R.O. 30/8/353, f. 30.

[13] *Ibid.*, f. 32; for the next para. cf., ff. 34, 36.

[14] *Ibid.*, 34.

[15] More on this subject will be found elaborated in Sri Ranajit Guha's forthcoming publication on The Schools of Permanent Settlement of Revenue in Eighteenth Century Bengal.

[16] Henry Dundas, *House of Commons*, 15.4.1782 and 14.4.1783, PH, XXII, 1275-1283; and XXIII, 757-760.

[17] Compare with Hastings' comments on Francis' quotation of Economic theorists in note by Governor-General in the Revenue Department, Calcutta, 12.11.1776. Printed in the *Original Minutes...on the Settlement and Collection of the Revenues of Bengal, with a Plan of Settlement etc.* (London, 1782) 143).

[18] For an elegant emphasis on the last point, cf., a recent article by Habib, Ifran M., "The Zamindars in the *Ain*" *Indian History Congress Proceedings* (1958).

[19] Philips, *East India Company*, Ch. II.

[20] Price, Captain Joseph, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse &c.* (London, 1783) 107. For the evolution of the idea of happiness, equatable with the notion of welfare, as developed in eighteenth-century imperial theory, cof. Bastin, J. S., *The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra, An Economic Interpretation* (Oxford, 1957) xiii.

[21] Ilbert, *The Government of India*, 67.

[22] 24 Geo. III, Cap. XXV, para. XXXIV. Compare this with the resolution moved in the Commons by Henry Dundas, 15.4.1782. PH. XXXIII, 77-8. "It is the opinion of this [Secret] Committee, that for the purpose of conveying entire conviction to the minds of the native princes, that to countenance hostilities without just provocation against them and to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion and measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of the nation."

[23] Ilbert, *The Government of India*, does not mention this.

[24] 24 Geo. III, Cap. XXV, para. XXXIX.

A NOTE ON THE KOTWALI OF POONA IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

P. L. Saswadkar

The building of the Shanwarwada Palace in 1730 by Bajirao I was the beginning of the prosperity of Poona. With the rise of the Peshwa, Poona gradually became the chief capital of the Maratha state and consequently the true centre of all Maratha activities. It had naturally grown in population and political and commercial importance. Poona now needed a disciplined and well organised Police department for its civil management. Seeing this necessity, Peshwa Madhavrao I created for the first time a regular office of the Kotwal and appointed Balaji Narayan Ketkar the first Kotwal in 1764.[1]

Till the beginning of the Peshwaship of Madhavrao II, the office of the Kotwal in Poona was well established. Three Kotwals followed Ketkar within eleven years.[2] It must be noted that Nana Phadnis was the supreme authority in the Maratha State from the beginning of the career of Peshwa Madhavrao II till the latter's death in 1795. Nana therefore was closely associated with the prosperity of Poona in general and the office of the Kotwal in particular. He built temples, improved the water supply of the city, added some buildings inside the Shanwarwada, established new Peths (wards) and personally paid attention to the office of the Kotwal. In 1783 there were seven Police stations in the city known as Chowkies or Chabutras. The Police Head Quarters or the Kotwal Chavdi was situated near the Bahulicha Haud close to the City Post Office of to-day. The Chowkies were as follows:—

1. Narayan Peth. 2. Ravivar Peth. 3. Vetal Peth. 4. Ganesh Peth. 5. Somwar Peth. 6. Kasba Peth. 7. Shanwar Peth.[3]

The income from all these Chowkies was about rupees 25,000 per year.[4] There used to be two watchmen at each Chowky. A contingent of mounted and foot policemen was kept at the disposal of the Kotwal. He had not only to look to the safety of the town and its people, but had to perform many other duties. He had power to settle trifing disputes and to redress petty grievances. His duties in short included intelligence, judiciary, municipal, magisterial, P.W.D. and registration combined together.[5] It appears that the office of the Kotwal was a lucrative post yielding monetary and other advantages. The office was, therefore, much coveted. People offered great sums—as much as rupees 50,000 to Nana for getting this post.[6] Whenever the post was vacant Nana Phadnis got many offers from the bidders. Having once secured the post, the Kotwal guarded it jealously barring others attempting to secure it, through machinations, threats, and harassments.[7] The Kotwal, his assistant the Sar-Ameen, and other official staff took bribes and oppressed the people. In 1789 Sar Ameen Pandurang Krishna Bedekar embezzled Government money by selling one house un-officially and to hide his fault forged the paper. Once he threatened some prostitutes for mentioning the names of his favourites in one civil suit.[8] It is needless to say that his extensive power gave the Kotwal opportunities for abusing it. This abuse of power reached its climax in the careers of two Kotwals—Anandrao Kashi and Ghashiram Savaldas, who were Nana's favourites.

Anandrao Kashi Wachasunder succeeded Dhondo Babaji as Kotwal in 1775. There were in his charge one hundred mounted policemen, two horses for the clerks who had to move from place to place; two torch-bearers to accompany the clerks, and ten specially appointed persons to work as spies.[9] Outwardly the administration of the Kotwal was strict in the city. A gun was fired at 11 o'clock at night after which no person could stir out of his house unattended by a police, until 4 o'clock in the morning when with another signal of the gun the curfew ended. The person found roaming during the curfew hours was detained at the Police Chowky by the night watchmen and released in the morning. Tone tells us, "So strict is the discipline that Peshwa Bajirao II had been detained a whole night for being out at improper hours".[10] It is doubted whether Tone records a fact or a gossip. Gambling was allowed with permission.[11] In the list of offences those of sexual immorality were the largest.[12]

There was a rule since the time of Peshwa Madhavrao I that "Kunbi and other women brought to the Chavdi on charges of adultery should be tried at the Chavdi and should not be taken by the Kotwal to his house for trial and kept there". The rule had been re-enforced by Nana Phadnis.[13] Both Anandrao and Ghashiram abused their power and violated this rule several times. In 1777, there was a complaint against Anandrao that he arrested Brahmin and other ladies and confined them to cellars.[14] He appears to be a debauchee from the various reports against him. He had once been removed from his office for a considerable period. The reasons of this removal are unknown. He was, however, re-installed in 1791 after the death of Ghashiram.[15] In 1794 there was a big charge-sheet against him in which there were charges of ten cases of violation of women. These women, aged between eighteen and twenty, were brought by Anandrao through arrests, bribes, and force and kept illegally in his house. Two of these women were Brahmins, one of them being a widow. There was also one girl aged twelve.[16] The lot of young women, convicted of adultery in those days was most miserable. They usually lost social status and were compelled to resort to prostitution or remain as batiks (maid-servants) with their violators. The women arrested by the Kotwal instead of getting justice became victims of the lust of either the Kotwal or his servants. We do not know what action Nana Phadnis took against Anandrao for these charges. Nana knew everything, still he connived at this mal-administration. Anandrao seduced even respectable women. Ramabai Barve, a married woman seduced by Anandrao, had become notorious in Narayan peth.[17] It is said Anandrao had won Nana's favour by giving big sums to him and by saving rupees 25,000 per year during his tenure.[18] After the famous battle of Kharda, Mashir-ul-Mulk, the Diwan of the Nizam, the root cause of the battle, was arrested by the Marathas and kept in confinement at Poona under the supervision of Anandrao Kashi. Taking advantage of the corrupt practices of Anandrao, Mashir kept on plotting against the Maratha State during his confinement.[19] Anandrao disappears into obscurity in the turbulent days that followed the death of Peshwa Madhavrao II.

5. *Kotwal Ghashiram Savaldas*

Ghashiram Savaldas, a Kanoja Brahmin hailing from Aurangabad district, won the favour of Nana Phadnis and held the office of Kotwal from 1783 to 1791.

Anandrao and Ghashiram were confidants of Nana. There is ground to believe that a secret understanding existed between them and Nana in monetary and other matters. Anandrao suggested good bargains to Nana and Ghashiram many a time sought private interviews in connection with money and women.[20] The Kotwals had become oppressive on account of the support and favour of Nana Phadnis. Sometimes Nana received complaints from the Kotwal's assistants and the public against the mal-practices of the Kotwal. Balaji Anant in 1797 complained to Nana that the Kotwal paid him rupees 150 when his payment was fixed at Rs. 200.[21] Anandrao once arrested three goldsmiths and harassed them. The goldsmiths, therefore, requested Nana that their case should be heard by some one else than the Kotwal. They agreed to pay Rs. 500 as court expenses to Nana.[22] With the money so earned through corruption, the Kotwal naturally lived with pomp and splendour. Here is an account of expenditure incurred by Kotwal Ghashiram for the marriage of his son (either Jivanram or Sakharam) reported to Nana:—

Rs. 1,500	Gold and other ornaments.
700	Clothes.
1,200	Religious ceremony, banquet and alms.
Total Rs. 3,400[23]	

It must be noted that Ghashiram's salary was only Rs. 621 per year.[24] As this chit is found in the correspondence of Nana Phadnis, it is likely that Ghashiram had utilised Government money for his private affair which was allowed by Nana. A rumour is reported that Nana Phadnis who favoured him and connived at his misdemeanour was enamoured of his beautiful daughter Lalitagauri.[25] Ghashiram met a tragic end in 1791. He was stoned to death by an infuriated mob of Telanga Brahmins for causing the death of twenty-one Brahmins who were shut in a cellar by him and died of suffocation.[26] The Peshwa, it is said, was indignant over the affair and himself handed over Ghashiram to the Brahmins who demanded justice. Nana still did not think him guilty. On the contrary, he criticised the people of Poona who in his opinion enjoyed and encouraged rumours spread by rogues and a few jealous persons.[27] Both the Kotwals generally sought Nana's advice and kept him informed of all the important happenings in Poona. Here is the glimpse of the social life in Poona under these Kotwals culled from their reports:—

i. Foreigners and Merchants in Poona.

Because of the permanent residence of the Peshwa, who was the most powerful nobleman in Poona along with other nobles, Poona had become a good market place. Traders and craftsmen from far and wide were attracted to Poona. One Armenian doctor had settled in Poona since the days of Madhavrao I and had made an estate. Nana Phadnis had presented him a sword.[28] This doctor died in Poona when Anandrao Kashi was the Kotwal. The doctor had no heir. A difference of opinion seems to have arisen between the Peshwa's servants and Nana's agent *viz.*, the Kotwal on the point of taking charge of the Armenian doctor's property.[29] Ghashiram once reported about the arrival of one Rasulkhan, a merchant from Kandahar. This merchant put up near the Mansaram garden close to Bhavani peth. The merchant had with him 52 Arabian horses, 7 camels and one Bacterian double-humped camel. The Peshwa encouraged foreigners to settle in Poona for the spread of commerce and industry.[30]

ii. Religious Charities.

It appears the Kotwal had to look after the religious charities also. In 1783-84 the following amounts seem to have been spent under the head 'religious charities' by the Kotwal:—

1. Rs. 50 each to Bapubhat Sanye Nasikkar and Bapubhat Saswadkar for their second marriages. It is interesting to note that Government gave aid to private persons for their personal expenses.
2. Rs. 70 Given to Vishwanathbhat Ghanekar, a Brahmin from Kurdhe who had no means of livelihood and who had incurred a debt for marriage.
3. Rs. 5 To Narayan Joshi Pawaskar who left for a pilgrimage to Kashi.
4. Rs. 4 To Janardanpant Barve for his pilgrimage.
5. Rs. 5 To two Brahmins for Jaṭa Patha.
6. Rs. 45 To be distributed among several Brahmins in the denominations of rupee one, annas eight and annas four as Dakshina.[31]

iii. Sensations in the City.

Sensational news in the city were noted by the spies of the Kotwal and immediately conveyed to Nana Phadnis. A cow once gave birth to four calves out of which two survived. Ghashiram made a report of this to Nana. In 1778-79 there was one day some commotion and consternation in the city. People suddenly began to move with their bag and bagage. Kotwal Anandrao Kashi immediately reported this to Nana and asked his permission whether they should be allowed to go out of the city. This probably seems to be an occasion during the

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Anglo-Maratha War when the English from Bombay had then come up to Talegaon and their attack on Poona was imminent. People from Poona began to flee with consternation.[32]

iv. Prohibition.

Prohibition under the Peshwas in Poona has been much extolled by foreigners. Here is an incident of 1783 on record. Ramchandra Balwant was a clerk of Vitthal Yeshwant Potnis and was a resident of Poona. He had sent his servant Rama to Mahad, his native place. While returning, Ramchandra Balwant's mother gave him one bottle of wine. On his arrival in Poona the bottle was detected by the Policeman and Rama was fined Rs. 1,700. His brother-in-law paid the fine and rescued him. The amount of fine appears to be too heavy compared with the present fine and shows the strictness of the Prohibition Law.[33]

With its beautiful temples, parks, stately mansions, the festivals and the luxurious life of the nobility, it was no wonder Poona seemed to a foreigner in 1801, a 'rich gay and busy city.' He further adds, "The city was bright with bands of armed men, handsome horses, rich palanquins, and gorgeous elephants; messengers ran from place to place; all was gay with sport, dances and merry-making".[34]

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[1] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days* (1931), p. 95.

[2] Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Uttara Vibhag II (1929), p. 500.

[3] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/50.

[4] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, p. 103. The items of receipts for instance in 1790-91 were nazars *i.e.*, fines or fees on succession to property, kamavis, taxes on houses and widow remarriages in lower castes, fees from musicians, fines, intestate property, fees on gambling, stamping fees of weights and measures, cloth etc. Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/1.

[5] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, p. 100.

[6] Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/25, 26, 27, 28, 37, 38, 41.

[7] Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/24, 30. Gazetteer of Poona, p. 369.

[8] Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/48.

* Guards, generally north Indian mercenaries such as Rajputs, Musalmans (Mohammedans) and Purbhayyas.

[9] *Ibid.* 46/1/45.

[10] Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), p. 393.

[11] Vad, *Peshwa Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 233-34.

[12] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, p. 106.

[13] Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/46.

[14] Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag II*, pp. 500-501.

[15] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, pp. 101, 109.

[16] Historical Museum Deccan College 46/1/22.

[17] Historical Museum, Deccan College 72/1/13.

[18] Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag II*, pp. 500-501.

[19] Shejwalkar, *Nizam Peshwa Relations*, p. 143.

[20] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/8, 14, 16, 17.

[21] *Ibid.* 46/1/6.

[22] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/36.

[23] *Ibid.* 46/1/9.

[24] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, p. 101.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[27] Parasnis, *Itihasa Sangraha. Aitihasik Tipne* 41, p. 64.

[28] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/12.

[29] *Ibid.* 46/1/11. Senapati Trimbakrao Mama Pethe has mentioned one Armenian doctor in one of his letters to Raghunathrao. The Armenian doctor was a specialist in medicinal oils. Peshwa Madhavrao I got one such oil prepared from him. Selections from Peshwa Daftar quoted by V. K. Bhave in 'Peshwekalin Maharashtra." (1935), p. 133.

[30] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/4.

[31] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/49.

[32] *Ibid.* 46/1/10.

[33] Historical Museum, Deccan College 46/1/49.

[34] Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days*, p. 90.

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THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1807-1831)

[*Summary*]

R. N. NAGAR

When the Central Government found that the Board of Revenue, situated in Calcutta, was unable to exercise adequate superintendence over the revenue administration of the newly acquired ceded and conquered territories, mainly on account of the great distance which separated them, the then Governor-General-in-Council established a temporary Board of Commissioners in 1807, for the specific purpose of supervising on the spot, the formation of the ensuing revenue settlements. The report of the Board, submitted after a searching inquiry into the existing revenue conditions, proved to be a useful guide to the Government in framing their future course of action, particularly in respect of the problem of granting a permanent settlement to these provinces. The members of the Board, however, under the belief that the Court of Directors in England were determined to introduce the measure at a near date resigned in protest. But, convinced of the utility of the Board, the Governor-General-in-Council, converted it into a permanent body, and vested it with the powers exercised by the Board of Revenue.

The Board of Commissioners would have served a great purpose, had they persuaded the Government in retracing their policy and in inculcating such measures, as would have suited the genius and the needs of the people. But, as they themselves were deeply imbued with the feeling of racial prejudices and with the belief in individual landlordism, they were unable to understand the local problems in their correct perspective. Hence, they were unable to provide relief to the suffering millions in their hour of crisis. Within their circumscribed vision, however, they discharged their duties loyally, and proved very useful to the Government.

POSTAL SYSTEMS IN INDIA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

B. L. GROVER

There were several co-existing postal systems in India before the enactment of Post Office Act XVII of 1837. The Portuguese and the rulers of Indian States maintained their own postal establishments. Some businessmen organised their own postal services and operated them on commercial lines. The Post Office was not a monopoly of the state.

Even in the three Presidencies into which British India was then divided there was no uniform or equitable postal system. The Post Office Department was organised Presidency-wise. Letters coming in Bengal Presidency, say from Bombay, were treated as if coming from a foreign state and charged postage from the frontier of Bengal Presidency to its destination in the interior and *vice versa*.

Postal stamps were unknown. In calculating postage on a letter not only the weight but the length of the distance over which it was conveyed was taken into account. The rates of postage differed from Presidency to Presidency. Rates of foreign mail were full of inconsistency, confusion and inequality. For all foreign letters received in India or sent out, overseas postage plus the inland postage for the distance covered in India was charged from Indian parties. In Bengal Presidency overseas postage rates were very high while in Bombay Presidency no overseas postage was charged.

In calculating postage on inland letters, in Bengal and Madras Presidencies, the actual distance covered, however circuitous, was taken into account while in Bombay Presidency postage was charged for the direct distance between two stations however circuitous the route over which the letter might be conveyed. Redirected letters were charged for the total distance covered but here also the mode of calculation differed from Presidency to Presidency.

In Bengal Presidency letters written in English were charged full postage in advance while letters from Indians addressed to Indians could be sent on payment of half the postage in advance and the remainder was collected from the addressee.

There were no outside Letter Boxes for the collection of letters. All letters had to be personally handed over at the counter of the post office. Each Presidency adopted its own procedure for the receipt of letters at post offices. Some high dignitaries enjoyed the privilege of sending their private letters free of any postage charge.

ACT OF STATE AND RULE OF LAW
(1800-1875)

S. NATARAJAN

One of the precious legacies of the British to India is the Rule of Law, though, as was natural under an alien administration, it was of slow development and of restricted application. A limitation was the concept of Act of State, which may be included among "rules of immunity which limit rules of liability".[1] The main features of this concept were laid down in some of the decisions of the Privy Council.

The first case of importance during the period under review is East India Company *vs.* Syed Ali and others. Wallajah, the Nawab of the Carnatic, granted in 1789 to Syed Mahomed Assim Khan, a jagir under Altamgah tenure. In 1801 it was provided by a treaty between the East India Company and the Nawab that the former should exclusively run the Government of the Carnatic. On the death of Assim Khan in 1801, his son Syed Kullee Moollah Khan was regranted the Jagir under some specific conditions which differed from Altamgah Inam. In the year 1813 Syed Ali, another son of Assim Khan, along with his brothers and sisters commenced litigation on the ground that the Altamgah grants being perpetual grants, were not resumable at the pleasure of the Government or on the change of sovereign; and therefore, Syed Ali and others were entitled to their respective shares of the jagir. The Supreme Court decided in favour of the Respondents and then the East India Company appealed to the Privy Council. The judges declared that the Treaty of 1801 vested right of sovereignty in the East India Company and that in exercise of that power it resumed the jagir in dispute and granted it to Kullee Moolah Khan on its own conditions. It was an act of Sovereignty and therefore "the Supreme Court of Madras had no authority to question an act of Sovereignty exercised on the part of the East India Company, and they are confident that the motives as they appear upon the papers here were motives strictly just, and that the effect of the law as it prevailed under the Nawab of the Carnatic, could not be examined into by the Supreme Court . . . . ."[2]

A second case of importance is the Secretary of State in Council *vs.* Kamachee Boyee Sahaba (1859). Sivaji, the Rajah of Tanjore, an independent Sovereign who had placed himself under the protection of the East India Company died without male issue in October, 1855, and the Company, in exercise of their Sovereign power and in trust for the British Government, seized the Kingdom and the whole property of the ruler in April 1856 on the ground that it lapsed to the British Government for want of a male heir. Kamachee Boyee Sahaba, as the senior widow of Sivaji, claimed that she was entitled to the private and particular estates of her deceased husband. The Supreme Court of Madras admitted the claims of the Rani and the Secretary of State preferred an appeal to the Privy Council. The judgment delivered by Rt. Hon. Kingsdown in the Privy Council declared: "The transactions of independent states between each other are governed by other laws than those which Municipal Courts administer; such courts have neither the means of deciding what is right, nor the power of enforcing any decision which they may make."[3] Commenting on the real character of the act done in this case, the judge remarked, "It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers any ground of legal right, on the part of the East India Company, or of the Crown of Great Britain, to the possession of this Raj, or of any part of the property of the Rajah on his death; and, indeed, the seizure was denounced by the Attorney-General . . . . as a most violent and unjustifiable measure. The Rajah was an independent Sovereign of territories undoubtedly small, and bound by Treaties to a powerful neighbour, which left him, practically, little power of free action; but he did not hold his territory, such as it was, as a fief of the British Crown, or of the East India Company; nor does there appear to have been any pretence for claiming it, on the death of the Rajah without a son, by any legal little either as an escheat, or as *bona vacantia*"[4] "The result," in the opinion of the judges, "is, that the property now claimed by the Respondent has been seized by the British Government, acting as a Sovereign power, through its delegate the East India Company; and the act so done, with its consequences is an act of State over which the Supreme Court of Madras has no jurisdiction."[5] Thus "the seizure was an exercise of sovereign power effected at the arbitrary discretion of the Company, by the aid of military force,......"[6] The judges also quoted with approval the following passage from the judgment in Gibson *vs.* the East India Company. "It is manifest that the East India Company have been invested with powers and privileges of a two fold nature, perfectly distinct from each other; namely, powers to carry on trade as merchants ....and, power to acquire and retain and govern territory, to raise and maintain armed forces by sea and land, and to make peace or war with the Native powers of India."[7]

A third case is Shes Lall *vs.* Sheik Mahomed (1869). Some lands in the participation of the proprietors in the Rebellion of 1857 were put up for auction. After considerable competition the property was knocked down to Moulvie Sheikh Mahomed who had taken part in the Rebellion and when he tried to complete the purchase he was informed that the Collector did not ratify the transaction and that another had offered a higher price. He resorted to legal remedy and the High Court was of the opinion that "inasmuch as the Collector, with the sanction of the superior authorities, made it a distinct condition of the sale that the property should be sold to the highest bidder, and that the consideration as to whether he was a rebel or not should not affect his right to purchase, the Government were not at liberty, ... to disapprove of and annul the sale on the grounds stated."[8] It was pleaded on behalf of the Government that the action was done by an act of State which could not be called in question. In their judgment, the judges of the Privy Council observed that an act of State "is something which appertains to the functions of Government. Suppose, for instance, any question had arisen with regard to the propriety of confiscating the rebels' property, that would have been an act of State. Probably the determination of the Government to sell the confiscated property might also be treated as an act of State, but in the sale the Government was exactly in the situation of an individual selling his property by auction; and when the property was knocked down, the relation of vendor and vendee existed between the Government and the highest bidder.[9]

Another important case was Rajah Saliqram and others *vs.* the Secretary of State (1872). The suit was brought by the plaintiffs for payment of a debt claimed to be secured on certain rent free lands and other real property mortgaged by the ex-King of Delhi and taken by the Secretary of State for India in Council in trust for the Crown. The judges of the Privy Council declared that the status of the King of Delhi was that of a King and the confiscation in 1857 was an act of State and not done under colour of any legal right of which a Municipal Court could take cognisance.[10]

G. C. W. Forrester and others *vs.* the Secretary of State (1872) is another important case which laid down what an act of State was not. This suit was to recover from Government of India the possession of the estate called Pergunna Badshahpore Jhansi which was granted to Begum Samroo on the death of her son Aloysius Reynolds, who, it was alleged, got it from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam in Altamgah tenure. It was also claimed that this grant was subsequently confirmed in 1795 by Scindia in whose territory the property lay. After the battle of Assaye she deserted the cause of Scindia and remained a faithful supporter of the British till her death. When Scindia later on ceded to the Company the territores to the West of the Jumna she became a subject of the Company; but the British also did not like to exercise their right of conquest to her prejudice and did not interfere with her administration of the jagir. On the death of the Begum, the jagir was annexed by a Proclamation. Some time after this Doyce Sombre as the devisee of the Begum, claimed Badshahpur estate on the ground that it was held by Altamgah tenure and on his death Forrester and others claimed the possession of the Estate. In the course of Judgment, the Judges observed; "The act of Government in this case was not the seizure by arbitrary power of territories which upto that time had belonged to another Sovereign State; it was the resumption of lands previously held from the Government under a particular tenure, upon the alleged determination of that tenure. The possession was taken under colour of legal title, that title being undoubted right of the Sovereign power to resume and retain, or assess to public revenue, all lands within its territories, upon the determination of the tenure under which they may have been exceptionally held rent free. If by means of the continuance of the tenure or for other cause, a right be claimed in derogation of this title of Government, that claim, like any other arising between the Government and its subjects, would prima facie, be cognisable by the Municipal Courts of India.

"The particular case was no doubt, somewhat complicated by the peculiar nature of the power exercised by the Begum in her jagir . . . . . Accordingly, on the Begum's death it was thought necessary to pass an Act of the Legislature in order to legalise the introduction of Regulation Law into these territories by the order of the Governor General."[11] That this was done by legislation and not by proclamation shows that it was not regarded as an Act of State.

From the above cases it is clear that Acts of State are different from acts of Sovereign authorities because they operate extra-territorially and do not deal with rights of States but with aliens. Though such acts may be done without previous sanction, they become acts of State if they are subsequently ratified. The East India Company had delegated authority of Sovereignty by which they enjoyed powers to acquire, retain and govern territories, to maintain armed forces and to make peace or war with Indian rulers.

The aggrieved party had no judicial remedy and had to appeal to the benevolence, liberality and sense of fair play of the Sovereign power. In fact, the Privy Council, in its judgment in the Secretary of State in Council *vs.* Kamachee Boyee Sahaba, declared; "of the propriety of justice of that act, neither the court below nor Judicial Committee have the means of forming, or the right of expressing, if they had performed, any opinion. It may have been just or unjust, politic or impolitic, beneficial or injurious, taken as a whole, to those whose interest are affected."[12] The East India Company was following a policy of aggressive imperialism in the first half of the nineteenth century and many of its annexations had been condemned as acts of spoliation; and absence of legal remedy caused much misery. It was a highly controversial point whether a treaty or annexation, even if it did not confer new rights enforceable at law could ever deprive a subject of his existing rights. The subjects of many of the states or estates which were annexed were *de facto* subjects of the Company though by a legal fiction they could be called aliens. Under such conditions the denial of legal remedies by excluding acts of State from the jurisdiction of Municipal Courts gave a privileged position to the British and thereby limited the operation of the Rule of Law which emphasises among other things, the fundamental principle that a person aggrieved by an act of Government or its officials has the right to challenge the legality of the act in a Court of Law and get redress.

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[1] Pollock: *Law of Torts* 15th Edition, p. 78.

[2] Moore's *Indian Appeal Cases*, Vol. VII, p. 578.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 529.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 531-32.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-31

[8] *The Indian Reporter*, Vol. IV, p. 767.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 768.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 707.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 684.

[12] Moore's *Indian Appeal Cases*, Vol. VII, p. 540.

THE CULTURE OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDIA: A REAPPRAISAL

GEORGE D. BEARCE

To many historians of India, eighteenth century India seems largely a record of political decline and cultural decay. This was the century when the Mughal Empire distintegrated and when the British began to absorb the remains of the empire into their own political system in India. To Indians especially, the century seems to be the nadir of India's development.

This attitude towards eighteenth century India has been vigorously expressed by several modern historians. In *The Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Sir Jadunath Sarkar discovered complete rottenness in the core of eighteenth century Indian society:

> This rottennes showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself. Royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile; the nobles were selfish and short-sighted; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, our literature, art and even true religion had perished.[1]

A similar comment appears in another recent work:

> It is true that there had been a decline in the intellectual and moral vigour of Indians on the eve of the advent of the British. Without such decline, it would not have been possible for the European powers to gain a foothold in India.[2]

In his *History of the Freedom Movement,* Tara Chand especially criticized the intellectual level of eighteenth century India:

> The eighteenth century Indian mind is best studied in its expressions in art and literature. They testify that an indescribable malaise had settled upon the spirit of India, that a moral and intellectual canker was sapping its vitality.[3]

I have been previously inclined to subscribe to these views of eighteenth century culture in India. In my own study of British attitudes towards India, I considered eighteenth century India as culturally static, though I avoided describing the country as in decline.[4]

It is this general interpretation of eighteenth century India as largely a record of decay and decline which needs reconsideration. India was culturally a rich, complex society in that century, and a thesis which emphasized India's decline too easily dismisses the intellectual and artistic life of that society.

In considering the problem of the intellectual, artistic, and cultural life of eighteenth century India, the scholar must work from two principal directions. First, he must understand the attitudes, prejudices, and ideology which influenced various historians to treat the eighteenth century as an age of decline. Secondly, he must study the evidence, or the data, which reveals something about the intellectual and artistic life of that past age in order to make a fresh appraisal of the history. I am most concerned with the first direction because it is fundamental and because, often, the data can be manipulated to justify prejudices and ideological convictions. Then I shall suggest some of the data which might lead to a fresh understanding of the question.

Compared with modern critics, eighteenth century observers and historians of India were not so decidedly of the opinion that India was experiencing cultural decay. An astute political observer such as Edmund Burke recognized that India was in difficulty politically during the late eighteenth century, but neither he nor Sir William Jones nor William Robertson, the ablest scholars who wrote about India, treated Indian culture as declining. They were, in fact, highly appreciative of this culture, and Jones expressed his great delight at the opportunity of being in India, which he described as "the nurse of sciences, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius."[5] There was obviously considerable cultural vitality around Sir William Jones in India, and he especially encouraged Indian scholars to transmit their cultural heritage to the rest of the world. He and his contemporaries perceived defects in India, in the political organization and the religious system particularly, but they admired this traditional civilization. They considered that everything should be done to secure this civilization against all dangers, such as the barbarism of foreign conquerors and the anarchy of internal conditions. One of their intellectual successors, Sir Thomas Munro, famous as a governor of Madras, was sufficiently appreciative of Indian culture in 1813 to suggest to the British House of Commons that Britain might well benefit from any cultural exchange between the two countries.[6]

Of course, the conservatives were not always well informed about Indian culture, and they based their appreciation on definite ideological grounds. They were prepared to exalt existing civilizations, together with their social and political institutions, wherever they existed, in India overwhelmed by foreign invaders, in France upset by a revolution, or in Britain beset by demands for reform. They probably would not have spoken ill of any culture. Their views, however, possess a certain merit. They tried to see the whole of a civilization, with all its interconnected institutions, before passing judgment on it. They realized that in any civilization, there was bound to be some decay as well as some growth. From the late eighteenth century viewpoint, India was not too far from the level of western society. It was not until the industrial revolution transformed Europe that the technological, social, and philosophical differences became marked between Asian and European societies. In being accurate, from the eighteenth century viewpoint, these conservative observers could perceive defects and difficulties in India, but not the wholesale decay of a civilization. They were prepared also to suggest the existence of elements of growth in India.

The view that India was in decline received its first significant support in the historiography of nineteenth century utilitarians and religious reformers of Britain. James Mill, the historian, was the characteristic utilitarian. He was in the vanguard of the economic, political, and social transformation of his own age, and he was impatient of anything that lagged behind. He considered India to be backward. He censured the conservative institutions of both Britain and India as an impediment to human progress. Regarding Indian culture, however, James Mill was just partially well-informed. He disliked poetry in absurd and prolix. He was unfamiliar with Indian historical writing in the eighteenth century, and he would have been critical of anything except the most scientifically oriented history. He did not see much Indian art and architecture. When he judged Indian culture, he tended to dismiss everything which was not "utilitarian," which was not part of the massive dose of reform and westernization needed for India's modernization.[7]

From their doctrinal viewpoint, the missionary reformers strengthened the conception that India was experiencing decadence. The missionaries saw this decadence in their first contact with India. Early in the 1700's, some Jesuit missionaries in South India described Indians as having once been Christains and having "fallen again long since into the darkness of idolatry."[8] One Jesuit characterized the Brahmins of South India in terms which suggest serious defects in the intellectual qualities of the caste:

> They being the Professors of Sciences, you will be pleased to understand what Notion ought to be entertained of their capacity, or rather of their Ignorance.[9]

The British missionaries of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were seldom tired of reiterating the sense of decadence which they experienced when they witnessed the ignorance, illiteracy, misery, and semi-barbarism of many peoples in rural India.[10] Such criticism had some value, where it encouraged the social improvement of the Indian masses in the coming age, as a critique of the intellectual and artistic achievements of eighteenth century society, it did not contribute much.

Additional support for the idea of India's cultural decline came from British artists, such as William Hodges, who visited India in the period. Hodges was trained in neo-classical standards of painting and architecture. He travelled through India, saw Agra, Lucknow, Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, but he was not very complimentary toward Indian architecture. He did not think that Indians gave proper attention to beauty. He liked the Greek revival buildings along Calcutta's embankment, and he thought Warren Hastings's house was in "purer style" than anything else. Hindu architecture, he felt, was comparable only to the "rude essays" of the people of the South Seas. He admired some Indian miniature painting and considered that Indians had considerable skill in this area, but he did not see much of this. In general, because of his bias, he did not see much of the creative activity of India and he did not give the impression that much of anything was happening.[11]

Modern Indian historians, strongly inspired by the movement for national independence and unity, perpetuated this general impression of India's eighteenth century decline. They had to explain why India lost its independence in the eighteenth century. A decline in political and cultural vigor is a relatively easy conception to grasp, and this historical conception served a useful purpose in India's national movement. But the utility of the conception does not necessarily validate it. This period of Indian history deserves a more mature interpretation.

The crucial point is that the economic, social, and political revolution of Europe in the nineteenth century left Asian states far behind. Actually, India's problem was in responding in areas of life totally foreign to its traditions and experience. Instead of declining between Plassey and the Great Revolt of 1857, I suggest, India was in the midst of the confusion and frustration of transforming itself to meet the new world situation. Rammohan Roy seems characteristic of this transition, and one would hardly consider him a decadent thinker or the product of an intellectual decline.

In their concern for modern Indian unity and integration, various historians have shown a special distaste for the political disunity of eighteenth century India. But was there any advantage to the break-up of a burdensome and oppressive empire? Certainly the newly-freed princes and peoples of eighteenth century India, the principalities of Oudh, Hyderabad, Arcot, Mysore, and the Marathas, provide the most flourishing linguistic and artistic culture of the century. The best eighteenth century architecture is found in these principalities, such as the Great Imambara in Lucknow, or Tipu Sultan's palace, or the marvellously planned city of Jaipur. The local schools of miniature painting, instead of the Mughal school, are distinguished. The encouragement of vernacular poetry is one of the features of the century.

Of course, eighteenth century localism was no match for Britain's political, military, and technological organization. But, considering the whole of India, was not this local disunity rather rich culturally, and was it not the result of the growth of India as well as the decay of Mughal power? India did not possess a unified national spirit during the eighteenth century; it was a conglomerate of social and political units. One may regret that such national feeling did not exist, but its absence should not blind us to the merits of the century.

In evaluating the problem of India's growth and decay in the eighteenth century, one must see how the particular ideological outlook of historians pre-empted the question before it could be answered. The evidence which would help explain India's condition was not used with sufficient objectivity and insight.

Some of the interpretation of eighteenth century culture, moreover, is clearly faulty. The handling of the Great Imambara in Lucknow is a case in point. Built by the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Oudh in 1784, the Great Imambara was constructed, as Percy Brown suggests, during the natural decline of Mughal style. But all the same it was an "immense and imposing conception, notable for its grandiose proportions." The workmen showed considerable skill in construction. The ornamental detail of the plaster work in the building, Brown thought, was a redeeming feature of this phase of style. As a whole, Percy Brown was mildly favourable toward the Great Imambara and its adjacent mosque, but he was quite critical of other architecture in Oudh. Brown described the Turkish Gateway in Lucknow as a work of "outward show and tawdry pretense." It is this last phrase which Tara Chand cites in his *History of the Freedom Movement* as Percy Brown's general characterization of the Great Imambara.[12] This is a double fault. Tara Chand misread Percy Brown's commentary and he obviously misjudged the architecture itself, if he had seen these buildings in Lucknow. This mishandling is unfortunate in such an important book as the *History of the Freedom Movement*, for it will help fasten the label of decadence on the eighteenth century regardless of the evidence.

The Great Imambara, in fact, is a building of some merit. Yusuf Ali made this balanced comment:

> The arrangement of the courts, the grouping of the buildings, the proportions of each in itself and in relation to the rest, and the honest work giving strength and stability to the whole, make it a monument of which Lucknow is justly proud.[13]

In reaching some general conclusions about eighteenth century Indian culture, I have avoided the view that all was going to "rack and ruin." Certain forms of literature, learning, and art were stationary, others were declining, and some were even flourishing. The eighteenth century was full of the growth and decay which marks an age of transition.

The decline in the century seems more noticeable than the growth because of the historical attention given to it. The imperial buildings of Agra were falling into disrepair. By 1798, Jaswant Rao Holkar had devastated Malwa, the center of Hindu art and learning. And Brahmin culture seemed to have been permanently in decline since the twelfth or fourteenth centuries.[14]

At the same time India had a great variety of educational institutions and practices in the eighteenth century. A large number of schools in all levels of society existed, attended by many students. This educational system was, as some British visitors in the eighteenth century realized, more complete and extensive than in Britain and other parts of Europe. It generally provided Indians what they wanted and needed in the century. Perhaps like all educational systems, it had deficiencies and needed progressive reforms. Its merit lay in preparing Indians for their traditional creative outlets, religious expression, theological discourse, and poetry in vernacular languages. Its deficiency was that it did not provide much more than these traditional aims—little philosophy or political theory, needed as a basis for Indian politics ; no natural science, except the astronomy and mathematics traditional in the curriculum ; very little attention to history.[15] This education in both Hindu and Muslim schools could be narrow and utilitarian in the eighteenth century sense. The Brahmins in the Hindu colleges at Benares and other places pursued a knowledge of their sacred literature at an unhurried pace and under conditions rather aloof from the problems of the world. They learned the same things in the same way as they had done for centuries. They pursued subtle branches of knowledge. They did not produce much original work but rather preserved the knowledge of the past. When Europeans took an interest in this storehouse of knowledge in the late eighteenth century, some Brahmins turned their backs at first, but the general response soon was to present the wealth of this tradition to the West as fast as the West could absorb it. This was a kind of late eighteenth century awakening stimulated through Western contact.[16]

Muslim education was not so aloof from the problems of ups and downs. Some schools ceased to exist for lack of patronage and interest. But the Muslims were conscious of the dangers of neglecting education, and it was upon their insistence that Warren Hastings was induced to establish a new Madrassa in Calcutta, where none had previously existed.[17] Changes in the curriculum of Muslim schools were suggested in the course of the century, but there was nothing radical in these suggestions, no more than at Oxford and Cambridge in the same period.

Actually, there does not seem to be decisive evidence of either a clear-cut decline or growth in eighteenth century Indian education. There are some suggestions that, from the time of Aurangzib onward, new schools had developed in all religious communities and that education was expanding if not improving in quality.[18] At least India had a high level of traditional education in the eighteenth century. If there was a decline in traditional education, this may well have occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, when British administration provided little of the money which came from the princes and communities of the eighteenth century. Moreover, the political failures of India in the eighteenth century do not seem to affect education very much. Indian education had continued to survive adverse political conditions.

Despite deficiencies in India's traditional education, the learned and imaginative literature of India was of considerable note in the eighteenth century. In reaching this judgment, I am aware of the historians who have considered that eighteenth century literature was essentially a literature of decay. Of course, Indian prose was not very well developed, because this was not a favoured medium in the traditions of literature. Still, there was a considerable historical literature. To be sure, some of the history, since it was written for princes, was quite flowery. Some of the historians, however, wrote vividly and intelligently about their times.[19] Ananda Ranga Pillai, a Brahmin official of the French in Pondicherry, was an exceptional example of eighteenth century prose. Writing in Tamil, he could be flowery when civilities required it. But when he wrote his memories of the time in the form of a diary, he became concise (considering his many volumes), informative, and vivid in his appraisal of men and events. He was perhaps an eighteenth century Indian Pepys. Other historians, such as Burhan Ibn Hasan, author of *Tuzak-I-Walajahi*, and Luxmi Narayan Shafiq in Aurangabad, produced interesting and informative chronicles of their age. This was medieval historiography. The best Muslim statesmen of the times, indeed, were surrounded with learning, theology, poetry, history, and they were accustomed to having some part of the day given over to reading and study.[20] They were the patrons of eighteenth century prose.

Eighteenth century Indian poetry was even more significantly a cultural achievement. In this connection, one must first consider the critics of this period of poetry. Tara Chand suggests this interpretation:

> Poetic genius is apparently independent of outward circumstances. In the dark night which began to engulf the India of Aurangzeb with tropical rapidity the brilliance of the literary stars illumined the sky in all quarters. All Indian languages exhibited the phenomenon of decadence relieved by literary genius.[21]

From the statement, I deduce the existence of poetic genius in eighteenth century India. It is unfortunate, I think, that the critic insisted on finding decadence everywhere, because this conception does not deal fairly with the poetry of the age. The work of the major Urdu poets, Mir, Ghalib, and the polished Lucknow poet Insha, belie the decadence. Urdu poetry flourished as never before, in anything but cultural darkness. Even Tara Chand admits that this poetry was full of "harmonious, apt and homely metaphors, and moving rhythms." The work of Ghalib represents an unusual peak in poetic output, for he was a consummate artist, who produced a fine synthesis of "emotion and intellect."[22]

Poetry, indeed, flourished. Politics disrupted poetic traditions at times, and the disturbed poet could write elegies about the fall of his native city; but the output of poetry in all languages was unchecked. Poets had contests in courts from Travancore to Oudh. The literate public had a passion for poetry. Even much historical and scientific literature was normally expressed in the poetic medium.[23] This Indian tradition is reminiscent of the twelfth century in Europe. It was certainly medieval in its form and purpose, and it should not be misinterpreted or scorned because it did not serve the cause of the modern world.

Scholarship and philosophy also had moments of significance, though a great tradition, comparable to the poetic achievement, did not develop. Humayun Kabir has quite appropriately commented: "There were certain fields in which Indian scholarship could hold its own with the best of Western scholarship."[24] And he cites, in particular, orientology, legal lore, and philology, in which Indian contributions were quite significant. In linguistics, Sanscrit scholars had attained a level which Europe had not reached in the eighteenth century.

India had one first-rate philosopher, Shah Waliullah, and many other scholars and mystics, who continued the traditional medieval interest in religion and theology. Waliullah was deeply concerned with the political, ethical and economic problems of the age. He saw the corruption of the society, the oppression of the peasants, artisans and traders, and tried to mediate between the doctrinal disputes of Islam. He was most concerned with suggesting the standards of a good society, and his "conception of justice invites comparison with that of Plato in its comprehensiveness and depth."[25]

Besides traditional scholars, the age had men who were becoming concerned with the culture of the West and its impact on India. Burhan Ibn Hasan used Western sources in describing the voyages of Columbus in his history. Mirza Abu Talib Khan travelled to the West and studied society in Britain, not with full approval. Husain Khan, a lawyer of the king of Oudh in Calcutta, began translating Newton into Arabic.[26]

Of course, Western scientific knowledge did not make much of an impact so far. The greatest patron of the sciences in the age, Jai Singh, built many traditional astronomical observatories, encouraged the translation of traditional scientific works, and collected an important library. But Indians were not accustomed to Western scientific methods, and in the interior, Western scientific investigators would naturally be viewed as spies.[27]

Like the poetry, the art and architecture of the eighteenth century was an achievement. Before Western standards of three dimensional perspective perverted the traditional linear style of Indian painting, notable work was produced. The princely courts had their libraries, with scribes, book binders, and illuminators. Many different schools of miniature painting arose, Deccan, Rajput, Mewar, Kangra and others, all distinguished for craftsmanship and artistry. There was nothing really like it done before, in such quantity and variety in India.[28] The architecture and sculpture of India were less original and flourishing. In Hindu work, for example, the rule had long been established, and there could be no creative innovations, even though Hindu artists had the capacity for creativity. The best architecture was erected in the form of palaces, assembly halls, and mosques, all patronized by the new rulers who had established themselves on the ruin of the Mughal Empire. Of course, along with excellent work, such as the Great Imambara in Lucknow, came inferior work especially when Indian and neo-classical Western styles were mixed. The Martiniere in Lucknow is one of the great curiosities of this mixture. The taste of Hazrat-I-A'la Walajah Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, is also curiously a bad mixture, portraits of English and French royalty, pretty pictures from Dupleix's mansion, mirrors, and the usual luxurious cloths and jewels of India.[29]

The age of the eighteenth century is one of diverse qualities. It was perhaps not a very happy one in India's history, because India did not overcome its deficiencies and confront the Western world with enough success. When India came in contact with the full technological, economic, political, and cultural impact of the European world by the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the cultural features of the eighteenth century seemed quite useless for India's salvation. Many of these cultural attainments, such as Indian miniature painting, were blighted in the contact ; others, Indian poetry for example, continued with vigour ; even others, such as the scholarship and philosophy of India, had the chance, from the time of Rammohan Roy onward, to develop a great tradition. Before India experienced this nineteenth century transformation, the land enjoyed the last flowering of traditional medieval culture. For this reason, at least, the century should be of interest and its efforts should be better appreciated.

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FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE BENGAL RENAISSANCE

DAVID KOPF

Even before Wellesley decided to establish Fort William College in 1800 there were sporadic attempts to transform the arrogant and greedy Company servant into a responsible civil servant, familiar with the language and customs of the people he administered. As far back as Hastings, the need for a stable government was acknowledged. The India Acts in Parliament, the foundation of the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781, the Royal Asiatic Society in 1784, the Hindu Sanskrit College in Benares in 1791, and the Permanent Settlement in 1793 were all steps in this direction.

The most important institution of early nineteenth century Bengal was Fort William College, founded in 1800 by Wellesley without the knowledge or permission of the Court of Directors in London.[1] Wellesley's idea was to train a civil service elite with a general linguistic and cultural background of the India they were called upon to administer. There is nothing in his speeches or correspondence to suggest that he had any motive but to stabilize and make more efficient British rule on the subcontinent. Nor did he anticipate the effects of the institution on Bengali culture itself.

As soon as the Court of Directors heard about the College they expressed strong disapproval of the scheme and dispatched the first of several orders abolishing the College.[2] Actually, the College survived until 1854 and even then its linguistic work was carried on by the Board of Examiners, which endured well into the twentieth century.[3] It was the Board of Control, representing Parliamentary supervision over Company affairs, that recognized the value of such an institution and generally supported it. This proved to be a wise move in the long run because the experiment was so successful that the young men who graduated from the College, as well as those from Haileybury, went on to form what many have considered the finest civil service in the world.

The candidate was required to know a specific language for a specific job. If, for instance, he aspired to the bench, he needed to learn both Persian and what was then called Hindustani. If he trained to be a Collector of Revenue or a Salt Agent in Bengal or Orissa then naturally Bengali would be requisite.

The actual opening of the College was on twenty-four November, 1800, on which date lectures were delivered in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. A professor familiar with the language taught alongside a native munsi or pandit, who helped prepare texts and grammars and dictionaries. William Carey, who was hired to teach Bengali and Sanskrit in 1801, was the most popular and successful of the professors, while his Bengali asociates, such as Ram Ram Basu [or Bose], a Kayastha, and Mrityunjaya Vidyalankar, a Brahman, both distinguished themselves as the authors of numerous prose works in Bengali used as textbooks for students.

The College was not entirely devoted to Indian linguistic studies however. Greek, Latin, history, English classics, political economy, philosophy, botany and astronomy were also taught. One very noteworthy course conducted with the cooperation of the Royal Asiatic Society was the History and Antiquities of Hindustan and the Deccan. As far as I know, this was the first organized course in a college which gathered and assembled the newly discovered sources of ancient Indian civilization. Baron Von Hammer, one of the earliest of the great German orientalists, was perhaps the first European to applaud the fruits of the combined efforts of the College of Fort William and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his *Jahrbuch* [Yearbook] published in Vienna in 1818, he wrote:

"Sixteen years after this liberal and learned body [Asiatic Society] had by their independent exertions diffused the light of oriental science throughout the world, the Government of India established upon an extensive scale the College of Fort William....

"The establishment of the College being thus happily effected, the Government of India became possessed of the means of encouraging the labours of learned Professors and ingenious writers, and has been enabled to follow the path first pointed out by a few private individuals upon a wider plan with more extensive faculties. The best effects have since resulted from the combined operation of these two institutions and the example first set by the Asiatic Society has been productive of the anticipated object, in the wide dissemination of an accurate knowledge of the eastern world".[4]

The College had a second important function in modern Bengali history. One could not teach a vernacular language unless there was one codified sufficiently to be called a language. Nor could one hope to teach it unless there were textbooks, grammars and dictionaries. It is this aspect of the College which had far-reaching effects on modern Indian culture. At first, Carey went with his Bengali friends to various educational centers in Bengal, searching for any material that could be used for classroom instruction. At Nadiya, Chaitanya's birthplace, and an important cultural center of Bengal, Carey found no more than forty manuscripts, which he appraised with agony as "what remains of the whole literature of thirty million people in the course of their history".[5]

James Marshman, Carey's Serampore colleague, who was also carrying on a linguistic investigation of Bengali reported the following about the chaotic state of Bengali writing:

> "If they can write at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can scarcely wade through that which has been written by themselves after any lapse of time. If they have learned to read, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllable ... even when the writing is legible".[6]

It is against this kind of background that the linguistic achievements of Carey, Marshman, the Pandits, Rammohan Roy and Vidyasagar can be properly evaluated.

Out of this feeling of desperation came the necessity to create virtually new languages. Out of this necessity, in turn, came the need for monetary and other kinds of support to encourage translation, compilation, exegesis, resulting in the most remarkably productive humanistic period in the history of the modern world, next to a similar period in Renaissance Europe.

When one examines the contemporary documents of the Royal Asiatic Society, Fort William College, and the Serampore Mission, one is struck immediately by the herculean achievements of this generation of humanist-scholars. William Carey alone, between 1801 and 1831 when he retired from active college work, had been directly involved as author or compiler of works rendered in thirty-six Indian languages as well as Sanskrit. His Bengali dictionary, which took thirty years to complete and contained eighty thousand words, constituted the first attempt to discover etymological roots and to trace the semantic changes of each word of a non-European language.

Hundreds of books dealing with every conceivable subject, East and West, were published in newly-organized presses that were springing-up in Calcutta and Serampore. It may be interesting to note that William Ward, the third of the Serampore trio, a printer by profession, was so resourceful that his Serampore press became the most sought-after publishing house for at least three decades. It was he who utilized that famous steam engine, the first in India, and invented a durable paper which revolutionized printing in India because it made it no longer necessary to import expensive British paper. From Ward's press, it might be added, came the first Bengali newspaper and magazine in 1818.

Great libraries, both private and institutional, developed steadily during this time and helped to disseminate knowledge among the growing number of Bengali intellectuals. In the records of Fort William College there is a reference, dated 1807, in which College authorities are reprimanded by the Court of Directors for their lax library system. Apparently in 1806 the College library had loaned to professors, pandits, students and outsiders [who these outsiders were we may never know for sure] twelve hundred and eight-four volumes, valued at twenty-eight thousand three hundred thirty-five rupees. Only eight hundred and seventy-five volumes had been returned or paid for and the remaining four hundred nine volumes were considered a dead loss.[7] The significant fact here is that the librarian was accused of circulating many of these books to certain Bengali gentlemen, when the works should have been used only by persons within the institution.[8]

One fact should be made crystal clear, however, at this point. Seen from the point of view of perspective, this period of feverish activity unearthing the treasure of the Indian past, building-up vernacular tongues, and disseminating the results of this and other kinds of knowledge, was certainly the formative period in the history of the Bengal renaissance. On the other hand, seen retrospectively, no major figure indulging himself in this enthusiasm for cultural reawakening, with the possible exception of Rammohan Roy, who had a prophetic quality about him, seemed aware that he was the pioneer of a new age. The Serampore missionaries worked long hours straining their eyes on unintelligible script as a means toward converting the heathen to Christianity. If one glances at the long lists of their publications during these years one is puzzled immediately at the vast disproportion between books on natural science and other secular subjects, along with an infinite number of Indian classics, as against the mere handful of Christian scriptural works. So certain were the Careys and Marshmans that, when the Indian viewed his religious and literary achievements as against those of the West, he would naturally run to the nearest preacher and get himself baptized in the waters of the Hooghly. What these missionaries never seemed cognizant of was that, when the pieces in the jigsaw puzzle of ancient Indian civilization were even partially resurrected, the Indian faith would prove to be superior in many ways to what was comparable in the West. Nor could they see that it would have the contrary effect of awakening a long-lost historical consciousness in the Indian mind, making him proud of his glorious heritage.

Rammohan Roy, who was the first great disappointment to the Serampore missionaries, not only evaluated Christianity against the wisdom of his newly-published *Vedas* [printed incidentally at Serampore] but knew a great deal also about Islam and Buddhism. In a real perspectival sense Rammohan Roy was the father of the Bengal renaissance. With unbelievable courage Rammohan alienated what had hitherto been his greatest support at Serampore. At the same time he continued to endure the onslaught of the orthodox faction, the Dharma Sabha, led by Fort William College's chief pandit, Mritunjaya Vidyalankar, and the complex Radhakanta Deb. Thus Rammohan's middle course of purified Hinduism was the first conscious response of the renaissance against the challenge of modern Christianity.

It must not be thought, however, that all the key figures in this early generation had either the confused idealism of the Serampore missionaries or the heroic renaissance stature of a Rammohan Roy. The Government of India, as I have already said, needed a civil service and so they supported Fort William College. The College, in turn, needed qualified personnel and books. The result was an official patronage system. Students at the College were awarded gold medals and monetary prizes for proficiency in disputations held every year and in which various topics were debated in the Indian languages.[9] In 1816 the Court of Directors was finally empowered to stop this "costly waste of money," and the yearly prizes of one thousand rupees for proficiency in vernacular languages and five thousand rupees for the same proficiency in Arabic and Sanskrit were withdrawn and a prize of oriental books given instead.

The story of John Gilchrist, the second best scholar at the College next to Carey, may serve to illustrate the motivation behind most of the people, European and Indian, who gave so much of their time and effort towards promoting [unwittingly of course] the Bengal renaissance. Gilchrist taught Hindi and for the first few years established a reputation for scholarship second to none at the College. Prior to the formation of the College, he had already conducted a seminary in Calcutta which did what Wellesley's pet scheme did but only on a more modest scale. In September, 1801, he presented a bill for the books transferred from his seminary to the College amounting to four thousand two hundred and twelve rupees.[10] Apparently it was paid without question. Months later Gilchrist invested most of his savings in the Hindustani Press, which for a time served the College with printing facilities. In 1802 he presented the College Council with a bill for compiling and printing books in Hindustani amounting to sixty-three thousand rupees.[11] The Governor General's office seemed ready to close the institution right then and there. But when the rage diminished it was decided that no more books were to be received, no more expenses incurred, without the direct sanction of the College, and after an inspection of the manuscript and receiving an estimate of the cost. In 1803, when Gilchrist submitted an estimate of proposed cost, he asked for fifty-nine thousand rupees. When the Council challenged his estimate his answer was that he would resign, rather than "be fettered with too rigid economy and preliminary forms".[12]

In sharp contrast, William Carey, whose integrity was beyond reproach, asked for only five thousand rupees for books in Bengali.[13] Furthermore, whereas Gilchrist was making fifteen hundred rupees a month as Hindi professor, Carey, because of his suspect Anabaptist missionary background, was making only five hundred.[14] In the end however, the Council tired of Gilchrist's high-handedness and thievery and he returned to England leaving behind him a debt of twenty-three thousand rupees.[15] Almost overnight Carey was made a full professor, his Bengali associates received increases in salary and the Serampore Press was contracted to do the bulk of publishing for Fort William College.

When Carey died in 1834 the intellectual foundation for the Indian renaissance had already been laid. It was Rammohan Roy's conscious response to what Carey represented that initiated the renaissance. In linguistics Carey encouraged the development of Bengali along the lines of Vidyalankar's Sanskritized *pandit bhasa*, or *sadhu bhasa*, which though systematized at Fort William was nevertheless too pedantic and subtle for the needs of an expanding urbanized society. In the early years of the College, when Ram Ram Basu exerted influence on Carey, a flowery though colloquial Persianized court-style language known as *adaloti bhasa*, was promoted as a possible basis for the new vernacular. Ram Ram Basu was a Kayastha and his caste had had close ties with Mughul administration. Unfortunately for Basu, the Pandits, who were orthodox tol-Bhattacharyas, were in the majority at the College and they were primarily responsible for his later discharge. Rammohan Roy, though a Kulin-Brahman, came from a family which also had close ties with Mughal administration. Roy, a Persian scholar himself, was Basu's close friend in the early Fort William College days and both of them shared a feeling of emancipation from what they styled corrupt-tyrannical Brahmanism.[16]

In 1815, when Roy published his first work in Bengali, the *Bedanta Grontha* (an abridged translation of the Vedas), he single-handedly created a new Bengali language which was as similar to Basu's colloquial Persianized style as it was dissimilar to the Carey-sponsored *Sadhu* style. But, in essence, it was a real synthesis which, though it came about only because Carey and his associates had already laid a foundation, was still revolutionary enough, by means of its communicative lucidity, to better meet the needs of the growing intelligentsia. Thus Rammohan's work undermined the Pandit's attempt to make Bengali what Sanskrit had been—the esoteric language of a small but powerful elite.

This rhythm of stimulus and reaction between Carey and Rammohan can be traced in every field of intellectual endeavour. Religiously, as I have already intimated, the work of Carey's generation made available for the first time the relatively pure unadulterated basis of the Hindu faith. Carey had hoped that, when the "nihilistic monism" of Hindu philosophy became compared with the ethical precepts of Jesus in the brilliant and sensitive mind of Rammohan Roy, the latter would become Christian. But the religious side of the Indian renaissance occurred the moment that Rammohan Roy proclaimed that the true Hindu faith was monotheistic and that while accepting the ethics of Jesus he rejected his divinity.

Out of this greater awareness of the difference between the corrupt form of the Hinduism of Roy's own day and the healthy, vital Hinduism of a former age, came historical consciousness. It should be remembered that three years before Carey's death Sir Alexander Cunningham arrived in India and the archaeological work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal began in earnest. Three years after Carey's death James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society, finally unravelled the mystery of the *Brahmi* script and was able to read the edicts of the great emperor Ashoka. The immediate effects of this achievement are not difficult to imagine. The Maurya civilization became as Rome and Greece had become for Europe, the great myth of former splendour out of which emerged the dream of regeneration of spirit or renaissance.

[1] See *Wellesley's Dispatches*, Vol. II, pp. 325-55, in the India Office Library, London.

[2] See *Home Miscellaneous Series*, No. 486, pp. 54-55, in the India Office Library, London.

[3] For the best existing report on the post 1854 period, read Ranking, G.S.A., "History of the College of Fort William from its Foundation", in a series of articles, *Bengal Past and Present*,

[4] Abridgement and translation of Von Hammer's article in Jahrbucherder Literature under section "Oriental Literature", *Calcutta Journal,* November 30, 1821, p. 304.

[5] Smith, George, *Life of William Carey,* 1912, p. 202.

[6] *Friend of India* article referred to in *Calcutta Review,* Vol. XIII, 1850, p. 132.

[7] Ranking, *op. cit.,* XXI, 1920, p. 189.

[8] From a Resolution by the College Council, August, 1807.

[9] The best source for the College's activities before 1819 is Thomac Roebuck's *Annals of the College of Fort William,* 1819.

[10] Ranking, *op. cit.,* p. 164.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 168.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 169.

[14] Letter from Carey to Sutcliffe, April 8-13, 1801, found at the Baptist Mission Archives, London.

[15] Ranking, *op. cit.,* p. 172.

[16] De, Sushil Kumar, *History of Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century,* 1919, pp. 159-60.

THE RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT AND THE INSTITUTION OF CASTE IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1792-1827)

NILMANI MUKHERJEE

Land revenue administration was one of the main concerns of the British during the early part of their rule in India. But they had to take a number of factors into consideration before they could formulate their policy.

The institution of caste was one of the peculiar features of the Indian social landscape which the makers of land revenue settlement could not but recognize. Caste consciousness was one of the built-in fixtures of the Indian mind. All through the lives of the people caste exercised an influence which might be imponderable but, nevertheless, was vast. To a great extent it governed the social relationships.

The makers of the ryotwari settlement in the Madras Presidency also had to pay due attention to this institution. Col. Read during his administration of Baramahal allowed remissions to various privileged castes. The Brahmins, Muslims and merchants generally came under this category. In other words it included all those who did not belong to the *Sudra* or cultivating caste. But Munro did not agree with Read on this point and argued that all castes should pay the same assessment for the same kind of land. He argued that the assessments almost everywhere in the country were adopted to the rudest state of cultivation. Munro held that the assessments were so low that every man who had the means of ploughing and manuring his fields might easily pay them. Were the revenue so high as to require some extraordinary exertion of industry to discharge it, a few particular castes might claim some indulgence. As this was not the case, Munro held that there was no reason why a Brahmin should pay less than a Sudra ryot. He argued that a Brahmin might perform every operation of agricultural labour except that of holding the plough. Many of the principal farmers never touched the plough any more than a Brahmin did. According to Munro it was want of stock, rather than of personal labour, that usually occasioned failures. If a Brahmin had the required stock he might manage his farm and pay his dues as well as the other farmers. If he did not have it, his only alternative was to get land at a lower rate. As he furnished neither stock nor labour it was evident that whatever he received was in effect a gratuity and a deduction from the revenue which the cultivator gave to him instead of paying to Government. Munro stated that it was his opinion that the merchants had still less right to indulgence than Brahmins because they usually had the means of stocking their farms. He laid down that there was no religious restraint on the labour of Mussalmans and there was therefore nothing to hinder them from paying the same assessment as other. Munro concluded by saying that if it were admitted that the assessments of different castes were to be diminished according to their idleness, there would be no end to the task of regulation.[1]

The suggestions of Munro were evidently not adopted by Col. Read and especially the Brahmins continued to enjoy the privileges of remission and of favourable assessment. Col. Read was of opinion that the *agraharamdárs* (inhabitants of exclusively Brahmin villages) should be allowed the option of holding the whole of their village on the condition of paying one-third of the usual *teerwa* to the Government or half of it entirely rent-free. Captain Macleod considered this too great an indulgence and thought they should be allowed to hold only one-third free of rent. The correspondence respecting the *agraharam* villages between Col. Read and Captain Macleod which began in 1794 was continued to 1798. It is not clear from this that any general and final orders were given on the subject[2]. On the whole Read's policy was very lenient towards the Brahmins as a privileged caste. His assistant Macleod feared that their successors might say that they were "Brahmin-ridden or perhaps something worse"[3]. The makers of the ryotwari settlement in Baramahal were aware of the influence and hold of the Brahmins over the Sudra cultivators and accordingly recognized their claims to favourable assessment.

Although Munro had criticised Read's policy of allowing remissions to certain privileged castes, he had apparently to revise his opinion on the subject when he had to deal with the same question as the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts. The custom of permitting certain privileged castes to hold land at a reduced rate was, he found, general throughout the Ceded Districts. Besides Brahmins and Mussalmans the indulgence extended in many places to some castes of husbandmen whose womenfolk being kept in seclusion could not assist them in the labours of agriculture. The proportion of remission did not appear even to have been fixed by any standard. It was usually called a fourth or a fifth but was found on examination to vary from a tenth to a half. Though this indulgence was like every other liable to abuse, it deserved to be continued, Munro felt, under certain limitations. Many of the poorer sort of Brahmins who were without employment and incapable of following any trade and many of the Mussalmans formerly serving as sepoys and peons and since disbanded, had no other means of subsistence than the cultivation of the earth. But as they were little accustomed to personal labours and derived no help from their women they could neither raise the same quantity of produce nor pay the same assessment as the caste of husbandmen. In 1805 Munro recommended that the remission should be restricted to Brahmins and Mussalmans and might be fixed at three-sixteenths but should be only one-sixteenth if a general remission of 12½% was granted. He believed that it would no doubt be practicable eventually when the condition of the people was ameliorated to make all castes pay the full revenue. But till then he recommended that it would be advisable to authorize remission as a temporary measure for he realised that it would be impossible to raise suddenly or even in a few years to the full assessment those who had been accustomed to indulgence without compelling many of them to relinquish their lands and greatly distressing all.[4]

This policy of recognizing the privileged castes was continued when the revised ryotwari system was introduced. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, wrote in 1822 in connection with the taxation of *inam* or revenue free lands that the *inams* were held to a great extent by Brahmins of religious habits whose influence it was the policy of the Government to conciliate as they had great power over the people generally.[5]

In the district of Madura it was customary in *agraharam* villages inhabited by Brahmins to allot for the enjoyment of those who studied "the Vaidoms and Pooranuoms" an extent of *mannium* land yielding from 20 to 50 fanams annually and in a few but rare instances to the extent of 100 fanams. These learned Brahmins taught gratuitously and generally such pupils as might be brought to them. These allowances to the learned Brahmins were continued even under the ryotwari system.[6]

Sometimes the favourable assessment of the privileged castes was abused. The Head Assistant Collector of Cuddapah in 1822 remarked that advantage was taken of the principle of remission to the privileged castes by individuals of every caste from Brahmins to the *Pariar*. About 900 persons took advantage of this. A ryot took the name of a privileged caste and this assumed name was entered in the *Puttah*. The nominal possessor was always ready to claim it as his own while the ryot obtained the benefit of the reduction for a small gratuity to him. The persons enjoying this advantage naturally objected to receiving Keymputtahs with a reduction of 25% on the assessment "unconditionally", since they had derived the same benefit by *tyasagari* (favourable assessment of privileged castes) for the last 15 years and the settlement "conditional". The Head Assistant Collector noted that almost all the Mussalmans and the greater proportion of persons entitled *Tyasagari* ploughed with their own hands and nearly the only exception was found among the Brahmins and Komutties. The latter were quite contented with the usuriously profits which they accumulated as long as the crops were bad and the ryots poor.[7]

In 1824, Sir Thomas Munro while on his tour in Salem district noted that Major Macleod and his successor had made some addition to the revenue of the *agraharams*, left free all *bhattavarti* (lands granted to Brahmins rent free and mostly held in severalty as distinguished from the jointly held *agraharams*), assessed at less than four pagodas but imposed a small quit rent on all yielding above that sum. The Governor recommended that some remission might be granted to such of *agraharams* as were assessed higher than others of the same class and the quit rent on *bhattavarti* might be reduced one-half. He remarked that the sum was negligible to Government and would be a great boon to the owners.[8]

It appears that throughout the period under review the privileges of certain castes were recognized under the ryotwari system although from time to time objections were raised against this practice by some of the ryotwari administrators. The influence of some of the privileged castes like the Brahmins was too great to be ignored by the administration. The collectors thought it advisable to conciliate this influential section of society by giving it the usual remissions and assessing it comparatively favourably.

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[1] Munro to Read, 17th July, 1797. Arbuthnot, Vol. I, pp. 12-22.

[2] General Reports of the Proceedings of the Board, January 2, 1826, Vol. 34-37, p. 131.

[3] Baramahal Records: Macleod to Read, 5th October, 1794.

[4] Board's Consultations, September 26, 1805, Vol. 416, p. 7086.

[5] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1822, Vol. 918, p. 6318.

[6] *Ibid.*, February 13, 1823, Vol. 942, p. 2402.

[7] Board's Consultations, January 9, 1823, Vol. 935, p. 876.

[8] Munro's Minute of 5th March, 1824, Arbuthnot, Vol. I, p. 219-229.

THE CENSUS OF THE DELHI TERRITORY, 1823

[*Summary*]

KRISHAN LAL

The first census of the Delhi Territory under the rule of the East India Company was completed in 1823. On getting a reference from the West Bengal Record Office, Calcutta, I obtained a microfilm copy of the relevant records from the India Office Library, London. This paper is based on a study of those documents.

The Hindus were divided into the four major castes along with more than a hundred sub-castes. Jains and Sikhs had their separate communities. The Muslims too were classified into more than fifty sub-castes by the enumerators. The total population of the territory was 10,13,157 out of which males were 5,59,056 and females were 4,54,101. They lived in 209,478 homes or families.

These documents throw a flood of new light on the various professions and occupations of the people. A specific number is given of the persons who followed agriculture, trade, industry and service in the Western, Southern and Central Divisions. William Fraser, while submitting these reports, made some interesting observations as well.

SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN BENGAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

R. C. MITRA

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Tols, as the centres of learning for the Hindus languished in a state of sustained neglect in Bengal, as in other provinces under British rule. The oft-quoted Minute of Minto of March 6, 1811 regretted the diminution not only of the 'number of the learned' but also of the circle of learning even among those who devote themselves to it, 'resulting inevitably' in the disuse and even actual loss of many valuable books. The shrinkage of the patronage habitually received in the past from princes and zemindars, the impact of social changes under foreign rule and the opening out of lucrative employment with a mere smattering of English hastened the decay of indigenous centres of learning. The Pandits in the deserted Tols found themselves in the pathetic predicament of the medieval schoolmen of Europe unceremoniously shunted off their pedestal of honour with the dawn of New Learning and with the expanding horizons in trade and communication. Classical scholarship stood at crossways. Even the educated natives with a tincture of Western learning scoffed at it as obscurantist and shunned it as a pitfall. The Government, with a benign condescension, offered to utilise it as an organ for the slow dissemination of the ideas of European literature and science to the people still living under its spell. The Pandits who were not impervious to new truths so long as these were not incompatible with their cherished principles and observances of faith, preferred to stand proudly as lone sentinels of the forlorn cause rather than seek survival by concessions or surrender. With Stoic resignation they began their wandering in the wilderness when the light that had guided them had visibly begun to pale.

The picture of over-all decay is palpable from contemporary observers, even though isolated oases of culture still flourished as at Nuddea or Bhatpara. Buchanan found no Tols in 15 thanas of Dinajpur, while 7 thanas had 16 schools of Sanskrit learning. In Rangpur he mentions 34 Odhyapaks who "confine themselves almost entirely to grammar and a little smattering of law, and only three men instruct Hindu philosophy. Bed is known only to one person from Varanasi and is not taught". The Pandits supplemented their meagre incomes with the more profitable art of calculating nativities and chiromancy, for which the Hindus as well as Muhammadans had an eager demand. In Purnea district in 1809 Buchanan noted 119 Tols which appeared to be an inflated figure to Adams in 1835. In 1801 Hamilton noted the existence of 190 Tols in the Twenty-four Paraganas (but presumably outside the limits of Calcutta) teaching Hindu law, grammar and metaphysics. In the district of Hooghly, he found about 150 Smriti Tols, each containing from 5 to 20 scholars. He was struck by the absence of any Smriti school in the districts of Midnapore and Burdwan where the casual need for such professor could be met only by importing professors from Nuddea. Only a few schools existed in Dacca which died out by 1835 when Adam made his enquiry. In 1818 Ward counted 28 Tols in Calcutta with 135 scholars, 31 Tols in Nuddea with 747 scholars and about 18 Tols in Juyunugur and Mujilee Pooru (Jayangar-Majilpur) and 12 Tols in Andolee (Andul?), all situated in the suburbs of Calcutta. At Vansvariya near Hooghly, and at Tribeni, Gundulpara and Bhadreswuru there were 10 to 12 Tols in each locality, specialising exclusively in Nyaya evidently under the influence of Nuddea which was the glorious sanctuary of this branch of learning. The small township of Valee (Bally) had 3 Tols. In 1816, the Committee of Superintendence, set up by the Government for its proposed college at Nuddea, ascertained the existence of 46 Tols with 380 pupils. The abrupt fall in the number of students in two years renders Ward's figures suspect in relation to Nuddea. Probably they were based on hearsay and were exaggerated. In 1829 H. H. Wilson, on close personal enquiry, found 25 Tols with 500 to 600 students fed and clothed gratuitously. The immense prestige of the place as the centre of Nyaya study attracted students from the far south as well as from Nepal, Assam and Tirhoot. Nevertheless the reduction in the number of schools and scholars all over the country was indicative of the diminishing ability or inclination in the class by which the colleges were principally supported as well as by a lowering demand for the education by such students as could pay for it.

In his first Report in July, 1835 Adam computed a total of 1800 Tols for the province of Bengal, on an average of 100 for every district, and the total of teachers and pupils at 12,600. Vyakarana, including literature and rhetoric, Smriti and Nyaya were the principal subjects of study; but astronomical works and Tantras were not entirely ignored. In his second Report on 23 December, 1835 Adam noted in the single thana of Natore 4 schools endowed by Rani Bhavani, besides 38 unendowed schools taught by 39 Pundits of whom only 2 were Vaidyas teaching medicine. All these schools had an average of more than 10 students in each. The teachers living mostly in sordid poverty found it difficult to keep up their establishments and ran into debt. The students lived under a regime of austerity and the chief expenditure they had to incur was the cost of copying the prescribed books which amounted to a sum ranging from Rs. 4 to Rs. 40 according to the nature of subject studied. The period of scholastic life was unduly long and extended from the eighth to the thirtieth or even thirty-fifth year of age of the scholars. This was caused, to a large extent, by the frequent interruptions in study on specified calendar days and festivals as well as by the long vacation, necessitated by the tour of the Pandit in quest of Vidayas, of which a small quota fell to the share of the fortunate pupil chosen as the escort of the teacher. By careful economy these scanty occasional doles enabled the students to meet the modest expenses beyond their free board and lodging. Buchanan and Adam both pay glowing testimony to the intellectual and moral elevation of the teachers. Buchanan, who was no ardent Classicist, observed, "The Brahmans, generally speaking, have an intelligence and acuteness far beyond other Hindus. I am further inclined to think that they are subject to many fewer vices and that those persons will be found to approach nearest their good qualities, who are admitted even to the porch of science." Adam noted with admiration about the Pandits of Natore that 'The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shown to each other.'

In his third Report Adam mentions 24 Tols with 153 pupils in the district of Murshidabad, 56 Tols with 393 pupils in Birbhum and 190 Tols with 1,358 pupils in the district of Burdwan. In regions which are now included in Bihar, he mentions 56 Tols with 214 pupils in Tirhoot and 27 Tols with 434 pupils in South Bihar. On an average assessment the Professors did not earn more than Rs. 5 a month which was only slightly higher than the normal earning of village Gurumahasayas with decidedly inferior intellectual attainments. Some of these professors were authors of learned works and Raghunandan Goswami in Burdwan was the prolific producer of 38 books. Custom of course set up an order of merit of the different groups of study according to the rigorous nature of discipline involved therein. The Naiyayikas ranked high in the hierarchy with the adepts in Smriti and Sabda or general literature occupying the second and third positions respectively. But there was very often a cleavage between academic rank and economic output of the Pandits. The gradation was observed only on the occasions of Vidaya gifts on ceremonial occasions. Men belonging to the less honoured groups occasionally swelled their earning with recitations of the Puranas, or more often with the practice of astrology which the intellectuals always despised as vulgar in spite of its wide popularity. It did not escape the observation of Buchanan that "Pandits who profess no other science, are considered as the lowest of all others and indeed the science is professed and practised by the Sudras. . . ." This life of contented poverty is all the more commendable because the educational endowment of land was customarily made in perpetuity on the family and conveyed no obligation on the successors to continue instruction.

The Sanskrit College was founded in 1824 in Calcutta, in place of Nuddea as was previously proposed, on grounds of the necessity of European superintendence and of easier accessibility of the capital to all parts of India. It was not designed as a model Tol but as an instrument for imbuing the higher classes with a taste for European literature and science, in a manner which would consult the principle of utility 'without being fettered by any preceding prejudice'. In spite of its profession of secularism, the list of fortnightly holidays followed the orthodox conventions of the Tols and none but Brahmins and Vaidya students were admitted. Besides free studentships to all, stipends were provided for the poor students coming from a distance. The curriculum aimed at improvement by adding to the usual courses of Tol study, new subjects like Panini and Vedanta which had never thriven in Bengal. Adam noted the study of Panini in a very few Rajshahi Tols. Buchanan had earlier noted the effort of Raja Nabakissen to popularise Vedic study in Bengal but it met with poor success and Adam remarked that the Vedanta school seldom existed in the province. In the Sanskrit College, the Panini class did not survive beyond 1827 and the Vedanta chair was abolished in 1842. The introduction of English, apologetically, as an optional subject, provoked caustic comments in the contemporary journals. It was observed that a smattering of English by the poor students would impair their reputation for orthodoxy and alienate the reverence of the families of their spiritual disciples without qualifying them sufficiently for new appointments under the Government. The English classes were abolished in

1835 when also the Vaidaka classes with their novelty of a hospital attached thereto were merged in the Medical College. A thorough-going renovation, body and soul, of the College was effected by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar during his Principalship (1851-58). The college was flung open to the Kayasthas in 1851, and to all respectable Hindus in 1854. The list of the holidays was modernised. Sunday respite replaced holidays on the specified almanac days. English was made compulsory and Mathematics was to be studied in English in place of Lilavati and Vijaganita. The students of this institution were made eligible for the Deputy-Collectorship on the same terms as those of the Hindu College after 1852. The learning of Sanskrit was shorn of much of its terrors for the beginners by his own composition of the Upakramanika and the Vyakaranakaumudi to replace the formidable Mugdhabodha. The curriculum was overhauled and a marked improvement in discipline and regularity of attendance followed. But far more effective than these innovations and adaptations was the valiant spirit that stirred this apostle of reform in Sanskrit education. In presenting his scheme of reorganisation to the Government in 1851, Vidyasagar envisaged with prophetic clairvoyance a day when "this college will become a seat of pure and profound Sanskrit learning, and at the same time a nursery of improved Vernacular literature, and of teachers thoroughly qualified to disseminate that literature among the masses of my fellow-countrymen". The noble record of the College in the first half of the nineteenth century forestalls and vindicates his claims and hopes. Not only the College had hitherto produced men distinguished for their erudition in Sanskrit but it had left its mark on Bengali literature, journalism, lexicography and even social reform. Jayagopal Tarakapanchanan, a professor of the College, was the most eminent logician of his day and was yet keenly receptive to all new ideas from the West. Jaygopal Tarkalankar was a tower of strength to the Serampore Missionaries in conducting the Samachara Darpana from its first publication on 23rd May, 1818 till 1823. The revision of Krittivasa's Ramayana and Kasiram Das's Mahabharata constitutes his further title to fame in Bengali literature. Besides the pioneer work on Bengali dictionary, Ramchandra Tarkabagis was a daring social reformer who forestalled Vidyasagar in his advocacy of widow remarriage, Pranakrishna Vidyasagar was not only a Sanskrit poet and grammarian, but he edited the Samachara-Chandrika for sometime with distinction. The great Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, himself a student of the College, has left the indelible mark of his genius and character on Bengali literature, society and history as a whole. To a later generation belong illustrious personages like Taranath Tarkavachaspati, the author of the Vachaspatiavidhan, Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan of "Somaprakasa" fame, Beharilal Chakravarty, the poet, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyaya, the educationist and writer and Shivnath Sastri, the reformer, and the dramatist Ramnarayan Tarkaratna and many others.

The reorganisation of the Sanskrit College was attended with salutary effect but the Tol or the Oriental department was overshadowed. There were many who deplored the neglect of the traditional methods which had helped to keep alive a stream of learned interpretations and commentaries issuing from some ancient Gurus and flowing along a progressive succession of reverent annotations. A new impetus was imparted to the cultivation of Sanskrit on indigenous lines by Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesh Nyayaratna who opened the title classes in 1881 with 25 students to serve as a model Tol, run by the hereditary Pandits adhering to traditional interpretation of the sacred texts as handed down by a succession of Gurus. The time-honoured practice of conferring titles on the student by the members of the Tol gave way to written examinations at a time which cannot be exactly determined. But regional associations for conducting such examinations began to be formed shortly after the formal acceptance by the Government of the recommendations of Mm. Mahesh Nyayaratna to introduce a series of title examinations. The Dacca Saraswat Samaj showed the way in 1878 and was followed by the Boaliya Dharma Sabha in 1879, and by a similar association with a long English title in Nuddea. The Pariksha Samaj was set up under the guidance of Mm. Rakhaldas Nyayaratna in Bhatpara. The title had the same invincible glamour as in the case of the students of English education. The Government replaced the old titles, Kavyaratna etc., by the uniform title of Tirtha in 1891. In the same year Mahesh Nyayaratna, the Principal of the Sanskrit College, was deputed by the Government to conduct a survey of the Tols of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He accomplished his task assiduously by visiting 761 tols and presented a highly informative report to which we will have occasion to revert later. The examination system was reorganised in 1897 by its division into three parts under central control of the Government in place of the local bodies in order to secure uniformity of standard. But the examining Board, set up under the Principal of Sanskrit College as the Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations, did not prove satisfactory as it left out some of the eminent Pandits of the orthodox variety. Resentment was expressed in a memorial to the Government on 9th August, 1906 signed by many well-known persons headed by the Maharaja of Darbhanga who was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. The Board of Sanskrit Examination was set up on 19th June, 1908 in deference to the public grievance about the previous arrangement. It was to consist of 11 members of whom 6 were to be the foremost Pandits of Tol training. The stimulus given to Sanskrit education by the Board is borne out by the mounting figures of candidates appearing for Title Examination. The figures had been declining till 1908 when they registered 4,235 pupils, but henceforward began to rise and shot up to 7,553 pupils in 1912. The Board was replaced by the Calcutta Sanskrit Association set up by the Government on January 21, 1918 covering Bengal and Assam. The Government list of Tols in 1919 enumerated 1,553 Tols exclusively for Bengal. These were run 'on strictly orthodox lines by members of hereditary families of Pandits' without intervention of western canons of criticism.

The report of the one-man commission headed by Mahesh Nyayaratna, referred to above, is a veritable mine of relevant information. Life and discipline in the Tols remained virtually unaltered till the close of the century. The custom of providing free board and lodging to the students was a singular feature of Bengal Tols and did not prevail in the sister provinces of Bihar or Orissa. In Bengal a deviation from the prevailing usage was noted in Nuddea only, where the influx of an unusually large number of students must have subjected the system of gratuitous feeding and training to a severe strain in a period of diminishing munificence from private sources. Certain teachers still strove desperately to uphold the ancient tradition of offering free boarding and lodging to their pupils. In many other Tols, the grants of the Rajas and the rich, supplemented by those of the Government, provided for the upkeep of the students in a great measure. When grants proved insufficient as did the stipend of Rs. 3 for pupils of the 'pucca' Tols in Nuddea, it was considered no disgrace for the students to go out begging. Gifts to such persons were held meritorious. In Bihar, Mithila alone followed the Bengal practice and in the Tols of Darbhanga students were housed and fed by teachers. The teachers and students of the Tols were all Brahmins except for medicine which was taught and read by some Vaidyas. The highest rank among the scholars was accorded to Naiyayikas with the Vedanta and Samkhya scholars as close-second. The next place was occupied by the Smartas with Pauranikas following behind. The Sabdikas came last with a proportionately smaller Vidaya presents. The last group of study including Kavya and Vyakarana were shunned in the Tols of Nuddea till 1864 when Cowell visited the place and were taught in Akharas or inferior establishments. But under the influence of the Title examinations and in response to the demand for such scholars as school Pandits, the subjects were included in the Tol curriculum before Mahesh Nyayaratna's visit to Nuddea. Nyaya continued to be the speciality of Bengal and Nuddea still maintained its reputation as the classic centre of its study. Nuddea attracted Nyaya students from all parts of India, while in Smriti the students hailed from Bengal only. Patronage to these Tols in the form of donations or gifts of rice was still continued but the flow was thinning out. Smriti was not studied on the original works of Raghunandan but on its abridged versions. Panini still continued to be localised only in a few Tols of Rajshahi. In Tols of Midnapore and Buckergunge and Birbhum, grammar was the subject of singular devotion to the exclusion of all other studies. Besides Nuddea, Bikrampur, Bakla-Chandradwip and Bhatpara still kept up their old reputation. Bhatpara could still boast of distinguished savants like Mm. Rakhaldas Nyayaratna, Chandranath Vidyaratna, Madhusudan Smritiratna and Ramendra Nyayabagish. Its Tols had recently taken up the arduous cultivation of Kavya which was hitherto treated as secondary study everywhere. The Bhatpara Thakurs, noted for their orthodoxy, were the spiritual preceptors of the Brahmin families of Bengal and were everywhere held in high respect. But the Commission did not fail to observe that the "Pandits and the pupils have been diminishing in number here as elsewhere in Bengal." The once eminent seat of learning in Khanakul-Krishnagar was decadent and contained only 4 Tols which were not in a flourishing condition. Bansberia had only one good Tol. At Tribeni a solitary Tol kept up a precarious existence under the care of the descendant of the famous Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, and with the death of this last Guru the feeble flame would flicker out. Some of the traditional centres of learning in Midnapur district had fallen into such a condition that no visit by the Commission was called for. A few good Tols survived in the interior of Burdwan, notably at Purvasthali under Kasinath Tarkapanchanan. Among notable later additions were the Tol at Burdwan founded by Maharaja Tejchandra, the Mulajore Tol near Bhatpara, the Visvanath Tol at Chinsurah, the Victoria Jubilee Tol at Berhampore. Ayurveda was taught in some centres of Calcutta and in Mankar (in the district of Burdwan), Jangalpara (Hughly), Bikrampur (Dacca), Bankul (Howrah). In all the Tols the process of training by the frequent repetition of lessons with the help of the senior students as monitor pupils proved thorough and effective within the limited portion studied. But the total period of a course of study was of a wasteful length and could be efficiently reduced by half by shortening the long holiday and the periods of frequent absence of the teachers. It is gratifying to note that everywhere the students scrupulously cherished the hoary tradition of respecting the teacher or Guru like a god. The Tols in Bihar were found to be inferior to those of Bengal and the standard of the Orissa Tols fell still lower than that of Bihar. The comparative survey led the Commission to the conclusion that "Tol instruction in Bengal though declining from what it was of old, has still more vitality than in the sister provinces." But this was cold consolation to the grimly discouraging observation of the Commission, "The aggregate intellectual capacity of the present generation of Tol students is lower than that of the past generation as unquestionably I think, as the number is lower and this deterioration in quality and decrease in number, judging from present circumstances tend to be progressive". Rise in prices and the superior standards of life of men with English education sharpened the edge of discontent and impelled the traditional families and even the Mahamahopadhyayas without exception to lose faith in their vocation in a changing social order. So they sent their sons for an English education while non-Pandit families seldom rushed in where the Old Guard feared to tread. All the sons of Mahesh Nyayaratna were given English education. The novel 'Jugantara' by Shibnath Shastri depicts the state of transition when the venerable Tarkabhushan sends his eldest son to a Tol and others to English institutions. Shivnath Shastri himself was the son of an orthodox Pandit but he sought University education. In 1891 the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, estimated the total number of students in the Tols of the province at 16,000 to 17,000 but he took care to note that only a small proportion of these intended to devote their lives to Sanskrit, while the rest merely spent a year or two to acquire a rudimentary knowledge. The Government of Bengal acted upon the recommendations of this Commission and instituted allowances to a few selected Tols and a system of modest annual stipends to teachers and students on the result of the Title examinations. The efforts of the Board of Sanskrit Examination since 1908 succeeded, as has been noted above, in raising the number of examinees. But until fresh avenues of life were opened out to persons with Sanskrit education, all administrative reorganisation was bound to have a precarious and lop-sided growth. Meanwhile there was the danger of much that was of the highest intellectual worth being neglected and cast into the discard of irretrievable oblivion. The twentieth century opened with prospects of better co-ordination and more energetic organisation of the various branches of study under the more democratic agency of the Calcutta Sanskrit Association.

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WALL-PAINTINGS AT BAHARU IN WEST BENGAL

SAILENDRA NATH SAMANTA

Baharu is an Eastern Railway Station, about 49 km. from Sealdah, in Baruipur Sub-Division, 24-Parganas. The Shyamasundar temple here was built by Dewan Nanda Kumar Basu between the late 18th and the early 19th century. Shyamasundar is an aspect of Lord Krishna, who is in company with his female consort Radha—the symbol of Divine beauty and love. The worship of the deity here is current to this day.

The three side-walls of the covered verandah are carefully embellished with colour and painting by artist Durgaram. The name of the artist can be found written on the wall in a verse which runs as follows:—

"Prati Dina Hina Bhakti Jana,
Durga Rama Bhaskarena Chitra Karena"

Most of the themes of the paintings are taken from Krishna legends, stories from Puranas and from the life-history of Sree Chaitanya.

The lives of Radha and Krishna become the pretext for a sophisticated court poetry, reflecting the erotic experiences of the young zaminders with their wives, concubines and mistresses. In the 18th and early 19th century A.D. many religious pictures actually depict "mystery" plays, which offer to the young Bengal society a pretext for indulging in the charms of their many concubines and courtesans.

Wall painting in Shyamasunder temple was the direct result of Dewan Nanda Kumar Bose's effort. He not only patronised the art, as it was in that locality, for its full development, but also brought artists even from Rajasthan or from Central India to help such development.

Baharu paintings are nothing but enlarged pata-chitra. The walls of Verandah are embellished by palette of glowing red, black, blue, green yellow, orange and white colours. "All these are used in the different shades. But, on the whole, the general colour arrangement of the divinities is mostly determined by iconographical requirement". At Baharu, Rajasthani idioms have mainly obtained expression by their gorgeous richness of colouring, comparable to the 19th century A.D. miniatures of Rajput-Moghal school at Jaipur and Jaunpur. However, there is an exquisite freshness, and spontaneity of conception and fine execution in these brush drawings. "Tonality of colours is practically unknown. The outline is drawn in red and as usual in the Indian Painting seems to have been sketched out first and filled in with colours." For example, the foreground sometimes forms cube; only the background maintains the flat convention of Rajput-Moghal miniatures. Sometimes architectural settings are introduced but with less insistence on depth while single flat planes are far more general.

Of all the Baharu panels, the remarkable one is the detail of Rasalila which reveals extremely simple and yet intensely lyrical character of the draughtsmanship. The painter is fond of long and sweeping lines that not only impart a feeling of gentle movement and feminine beauty of their balanced and rhythmic organisation. The female figures in this pannel are imbued with an attenuated moving grace. They are elegant and slender; their faces are decorated with delicate curly hair though their expression is modest, but their individual quality of voluptuousness is easily noticeable. Most of the faces are represented in profile, sometimes in full or three-quarter view. The whole composition is thus arranged in a harmony, in moving and circular rhythms. The draughtsmanship is, however, much more refined than the contemporary Bazar Painting of Calcutta and the charcoal drawings of the Patuas in West Bengal. But the evocative power is not as great as in Rajput paintings.

The costumes and jewelleries of the figures of these murals point out the tastes of contemporary women-folk of Bengal. Dresses of the female figures consist of ghaghra, short choli, patka and orhni. Sometimes, they wear sari over skirt and tight-fitting choli on the breast. *Orhni* is worn on the breast and head as a veil, partly concealing the face. "All these have been done with great care, the texture of the fabric and the pattern being rendered with considerable meticulousness". Again all women are profusely decorated with jewellery. The forehead is smeared with sandal paste; the hair hangs loosely at the back and the curl falling at side of the cheek being a common feature of these paintings which the artist has borrowed from the Rajasthani school.

TAGORE'S VISIT TO EUROPE AND AMERICA 1912-1913

W. GUNDERSON

Throughout his long life Rabindranath Tagore sought to bring India and the Western world closer together, and give to each a greater appreciation of the other's culture and traditions. As India's unofficial ambassador to the world, he delivered his message of unity and harmony in a series of travels extending over a period of twenty years from 1912 to 1932. Now after many years of quiescence, Western interest in Rabindranath's life and thought is reviving. The centennial celebrations of his birth this year have attracted wide attention. It is appropriate, then, that in the midst of these celebrations we look back to an early journey of the poet to Europe and America in 1912 and 1913, a journey which catapulted him to world fame.

For Rabindranath the years immediately preceding his visit were ones of disillusionment and illness. In quick succession he lost his wife and father, a daughter and younger son, and his intimate friend and associate, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya. In 1905, he abandoned the seclusion of his literary world and entered public life with a vigorous attack on the partition of Bengal. But, two years later, shaken by the course the agitation had taken, he denounced its activities and withdrew his support. Under the bitter retorts of his countrymen which followed, the poet, discouraged and in poor health, retired to the family estates at Shileida, where so often in the past he had sought rest and inspiration. But if his spirit and enthusiasm revived there on the broad lands and rivers of Bengal, his health did not. Finally, on the advice of doctors and friends, he agreed to undertake a long voyage to Europe for rest and further treatment. On May 27, 1912, he sailed from Bombay with his son Rathindranath and young daughter-in-law Protima, and his secretary William W. Pearson.[1] He arrived in London early in June.[2]

He found the city cold and empty, and remained alone with his family for several days until he thought of contacting his friend, Rothenstein.[3] William Rothenstein, a distinguished artist and portraitist, was one of a small group of Englishmen interested in Indian art and aesthetics. A few years earlier he and his friends, E. B. Havell and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, had founded the India Society in an attempt to overcome the widespread ignorance of Indian culture prevailing in England.[4] In 1910, Rothenstein had visited India to see at first hand the genius of Indian art and architecture.[5] In Calcutta, he had met several young Bengali painters, including Rabindranath's nephews, Abanindranath and Gaganendranath. One afternoon at Jorasanko, he had been introduced to Rabindranath himself, but as he later noted, "That this uncle was one of the remarkable men of his time no one gave me a hint".[6]

Rothenstein was first attracted to Rabindranath after reading a translation of one of his stories in the *Modern Review*. His interest was further aroused by the appearance two years later in the same journal of some poems.[7] When he learned that Rabindranath was now in London, he was extremely pleased and at once hurried to see him. The two quickly became good friends, and Rothenstein was able to find more spacious quarters for the Tagore family near his own home in Hampstead.[8] When Rothenstein inquired about the poet's work, Rabindranath, after some hesitation, handed over some translations he had made of his verse. On reading them that evening, Rothenstein was astonished with their depth and power. "Here was a poetry of a new order," he wrote, "which seemed to me to be on a level with that of the great mystics."[9] His friend, William Butler Yeats, to whom he showed the poems the next day, was equally enthusiastic. "Someone greater than any of us," he wrote to Ezra Pound. "I read these things and wonder why one should go on trying to write".[10] Rothenstein and Yeats immediately arranged for a private reading at Rothenstein's home. Ernest Rhys, Ezra Pound, Charles Trevelyan, and C. F. Andrews were among those invited. Alternately, Rabindranath recited the Bengali originals and Yeats the translations. It was a memorable evening for all concerned. Said C. F. Andrews, "It was an experience something not unlike that of Keats' when he came for the first time upon Chapman's translation of Homer".[11]

Few were more attracted to Rabindranath than Ezra Pound. As Rathindranath later wrote: "He became devoted to Father and looked upon him as a master".[12] Pound at that time was the foreign correspondent for the newly-founded *Poetry* magazine, published in Chicago by Harriet Monroe; and when he obtained permission from Rabindranath to print six of the *Gitanjali* poems in the magazine, he wrote excitedly to Miss Monroe:[13]

> This is THE *Scoop*. Reserve space in next number for Tagore. . . . he has sung Bengal into a nation and his English version of his poems is very wonderful . . . this vol. of Tagore is an event in literary history.

Following a large dinner banquet given in honour of the poet by the India Society, Rothenstein proposed that the Society publish Tagore's verse.[14] His motion was accepted and plans were made to bring out a limited edition. Yeats in the meantime went over the translations with Tagore, suggesting a few minor changes; he also agreed to prepare a brief introduction.[15] The finished edition of 750 copies, of which 250 were offered for sale, was published in November, 1912, under the title *Gitanjali*. The book was quickly sold out; but Rothenstein soon persuaded George MacMillan to issue a popular edition.[16]

For Rabindranath these were exciting weeks. Through his friendship with Rothenstein, he was introduced to the cream of English literary and intellectual society. Stopford Brooke, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, W. H. Hudson, and John Masefield were among the celebrities he met. At first a little bewildered at the enthusiasm shown for his verse, the poet soon recognized the sincerity of the praise.[17] In the midst of his activity he found little time for rest; he wrote to his daughter Mira that he would like to see something of London, but that he was tied down preparing his book for press. "Even after publication," he wrote, "I will not be free because people are saying that when this book is brought out there will certainly be a desire to publish my other writing".[18]

Before the first edition of *Gitanjali* appeared, Rabindranath had sailed for America. He went at the request of Rathindranath, who had attended the University of Illinois between 1906 and 1909, and who now hoped to complete his academic work there.[19] By November, 1912, the family was comfortably settled on the campus of the University in Urbana, Illinois. The next few weeks passed quietly; Rabindranath worked hard on his new translations. Sooner than he wished, however, his isolation was shattered.[21]

> Since coming to America, [he wrote] I have for many days rested silently in a corner room in the little town of Urbana; and have refused to see anyone. But in this country people have a terrible

> love of lectures, and they have been continually asking me to address them. At first I was unmoved for I honestly felt that if I spoke to them in English my dignity would be lost . . . But finally I gave in to a request to address the Unity Club in Urbana. It is a small and informal group, with few members, and so somehow I agreed. But, having prepared my lecture, I arrived to find the room filled with people. I wanted to flee, but could not. Then when I finished my lecture, everyone applauded ! I gained courage from this and have now given, in all, five lectures.

This was only the beginning; more invitations continued to arrive. Rabindranath agreed to address a meeting of the Congress of Religious Liberals in Rochester, New York, and to deliver lectures at Harvard, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan Universities.[22]

Early in December, 1912, one of the Tagore family chanced to read an editorial in a Chicago newspaper on the publication of Tagore's poems in the December issue of *Poetry* magazine. In paying tribute to Rabindranath as the "foremost poet of Bengal," the editorial called the attention of its readers to the Bengali renaissance and noted that it "... is a more important phenomenon than self-centered America is likely to realize".[23] A few days later, Rathindranath wrote to the editor of *Poetry,* requesting two copies of the issue in which his father's verse had appeared.[24] In her reply, Miss Monroe invited the poet to visit Chicago; and her friend, Mrs. William Vaughan Moody, widow of the poet, offered them the hospitality of her home.[25] At first Rabindranath was reluctant to visit Chicago "with its vast indefiniteness".[26] But he was won over by Miss Monroe's warm letters and agreed to come in January.[27]

With Rathindranath and Protima, Rabindranath spent the week of January 19th to the 26th in Chicago as a guest of Mrs. Moody. Her friendliness and affection won the poet's heart; the two began a long correspondence which ended only with the poet's death in 1941.[28] The cold winter nights of Chicago were warmed by pleasant evenings passed in Mrs. Moody's home as the poet read and sang in his rich Bengali. On the afternoon of the 24th, he spoke at the University of Chicago on "The Ideals of Ancient Civilization in India," the first of a series of talks later published under the title, *Sadhana.*[29] It was his first major lecture in the New World. From Chicago, he travelled on to Rochester for the sessions of the Congress of Religious Liberals. In February, he journeyed to New York and then to Boston to deliver the *Sadhana* lectures at Harvard.[30] On his return to Urbana he lectured at several mid-western universities before sailing for England on April 17, 1913.[31]

On his return, Rabindranath found himself the subject of popular acclaim. The publication of *Gitanjali* had attracted wide attention, and visitors flocked to see the now-famous poet.[32] By nature shy and retiring, he was ill at ease in the social whirl. In his distress, he wrote to Mrs. Moody and asked her to join him.[13] In response to his request, she sailed for England in mid-June and took a house in Chelsea, where Rabindranath and his family joined her for the summer. Anxious now to return to India, Rabindranath was able to finish his translations rapidly in relative isolation. On September 14, 1913, he and his family sailed for India.[34]

II

The reviews which greeted the appearance of the English *Gitanjali* were ecstatic. The book was hailed as "an event of supreme importance" for literature.[35] The poems were praised for the "preciseness and clarity of their language, and the beauty and power of their composition.[36] "Their imagination and melody (is) unlike anything we have had in this or the last century".[37] One reviewer went so far as to describe the poems as an achievement unequalled in the English language since the appearance of the King James' *Bible*.[38] The poems received a similar welcome on the continent. Writing in the *Mercure de France,* Henry-D. Davroy commented that they were "...si simple et d'expression si choisie et si precise que le sens n'est jamais obscuri par des gaucheries de langue". In his mind the poems "...exprime admirablement l'accord de l'emotion et de l'idee".[39] Such reviews helped to make *Gitanjali* a best seller. By March, 1914, 20,000 copies had been sold.[40] Andre Gide published the first authorized translations in French in *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise*.[41] Gide's complete translation was published early in 1914.[42]

In the fall of 1913, a Committee of the Swedish Academy met in Stockholm to select the recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature.[43] Rabindranath's name was submitted to the Committee by Thomas Sturge Moore, a member of the Royal Society of London. Although the nomination was pleasantly received, the Chairman, Harold Hjörne, doubted that there had been sufficient time for the members to judge what was new and significant in Rabindranath's poetry, and what belonged to Indian tradition. Others, recalling that Alfred Nobel had stated in his will that the literary award should go to a writer of idealistic tendency, argued strongly for the Indian poet. Said Verner von Heidenstam, in support of Tagore:[44]

> The tender and sincere religious feeling which pervades all his thoughts and emotions, the purity of heart, the nobility and natural dignity of his style—all these qualities blend into a whole of deep and rare spiritual beauty . . . Now that we have finally discovered an idealistic writer of really great stature, we should not pass him by.

Heidenstam's arguments were persuasive; and on November 13, 1913, the Committee announced the award to Rabindranath Tagore.[45]

The suddenness with which Rabindranath burst on the world scene seems remarkable even today. His selection was completely unexpected, but on the whole warmly received.[16] Articles on the poet and his work appeared in periodicals throughout Europe and America, and for many months he held the center of the literary stage. Translations and sales of *Gitanjali* increased enormously. A Dutch edition appeared in November, 1913, while Danish and Swedish versions became available before the year was out.[17] German, Italian, and Russian translations were published the following year.[18] As later volumes of Rabindranath's verse appeared in English, they were quickly translated into the major European languages. The first translations made directly from the Bengali originals were by V. Lesny, the distinguished Czechoslovakian Orientalist.[49]

III

I believe there are two reasons for the breathless and enthusiastic welcome *Gitanjali* received. First, it appealed to those who were dissatisfied with the established forms of English verse, and secondly it seemed to echo the prevailing concern over the ends and purposes of modern life. This was a period of great ferment in English letters. A group of younger poets, who later called themselves the imagists, were in open revolt against the romantic refrains of the Victorian period.[50] In their search for new methods and means of literary expression, they had been attracted first to the French symbolist poetry of the early twentieth century, and then to Chinese and Japanese verse, particularly the *tanka* and *hokku* forms of the latter.[51] When the English *Gitanjali* appeared, it seemed to them to illustrate many of the aims and purposes they were striving to achieve in their own work.

Ezra Pound was the chief spokesman for these young poets. An examination of his review of *Gitanjali* suggests some of these reasons for its appeal. First the new poets demanded more sophisticated and varied metrics. Pound said of Tagore's verse:

> His measures are more interesting than any now being used in Europe, except those of the most advanced French writers . . . [It is] the sort of metric which we a while back predicted or hoped for in English. . . .

They called for closely-organized writing in clear and explicit language. "He [Tagore] understands," wrote Pound, "that a very strict form rigorously applied makes it possible for one to use the very plainest language". Finally, they protested against that sort of humanist view which placed man above and in opposition to nature. They found in Tagore's poems a re-affirmation of man's proper place in the universe.

> There is in him the stillness of nature. The poems do not seem to have been produced by storm or by ignition, but seem to show

> the normal habit of his mind. He is at one with nature and finds no contradictions.

In all these ways, Pound thought, Rabindranath pointed the way toward new directions in poetry.

But any new movement, no matter how revolutionary, is bound to carry with it a good many of the preconceptions and predispositions of the old. So it was with the imagists. They shared with the romantics an abhorrence of the glib rationalism of their day. As they sought to express in their work the inner meaning and deeper significance of life, they turned more and more to the mystic poetry of Europe and Asia. It is not surprising then that they were receptive to the mystic strains of *Gitanjali*. Yeats expressed this best when he wrote to Rabindranath many years later :[53]

> . . . life when I think of it as separated from all that is not itself, from all that is complicated and mechanical, takes to my imagination an Asiatic form. That form I first found in your books. . . What an excitement it was the first reading of your poems, which seemed to come out of the fields and the rivers and have their changelessness.

One basic theme runs through all of these comments ; a feeling of uneasiness over the materialistic direction of modern life and the insecurities of industrial society and the nation-state system. Rabindranath's verse recalled a simpler world where man pursued his search for the eternal in freedom and repose.

> We have found our new Greece suddenly [wrote Pound]. As the sense of balance came back upon Europe in the days before the Renaissance, so it seems to me does a sense of a saner stillness come now to us in the midst of our clangour of mechanisms. . . . I find in these poems a sort of ultimate common sense, a reminder of one thing and forty things of which we are likely to lose sight of in the confusion of our Western life, in the racket of our cities, in the jabber of manufactured literature, in the vortex of advertisement.

New offerings of Tagore's verse continued to appear for many years, but gradually sales declined and interest slackened. The new volumes only echoed the themes of the earlier work and gave little indication of the poet's versatility. The theistic devotional refrains of his verse had led many to conclude that it showed pronounced Christian influence. They shared Edward Thompson's hopeful belief : "In Rabindranath we get a glimpse of what the Christianity of India will be like."[55] But the theologians were disappointed and the public shocked by Rabindranath's strong denunciations of certain aspects of the Christian tradition and Western life. His message found little response in the buoyant, self-confident years which followed the First World War in Britain and America.

Nonetheless, I believe his visit had a lasting impact. The Western world had an opportunity to observe at first hand a great representative of Indian tradition, and clearly they were impressed.[56] Through his writings and travels, Rabindranath helped to break down some of the parochialism and exclusiveness of Western life. His visit was one of the stages in that long process, begun in the age of exploration in the late fifteenth century and continuing to the present day, by which the Western world has rediscovered the great civilizations of Asia and the Middle East.

Rabindranath, too, was affected by his journey. He had long recognized the political and scientific achievements of European civilization. Now he saw a new facet of Western life. He remarked to an English correspondent on his return :[57]

> Those who know the English only in India do not know Englishmen. All you people live, think, and talk while a strong critical light is constantly focussed on you. This creates a high social civilization.

In a letter to C. F. Andrews, he contrasted the close "contact of humanity in the West" with the narrowness and provincialism of Indian society.[58] He also discovered that his personal life had been enriched by the friendships he made in Europe and America. In a letter to Rothenstein, he wrote :[59]

> I thought that I had come to that age when doors to my inner theatre must be closed and no more new admissions could be possible. But the impossible has happened and you have made my life larger by your friendship. I feel its truth and its preciousness all the more because it came to me so unexpectedly in a surrounding not familiar to me at all. That I should, while travelling in a foreign land, meet with some experience of life which is not temporary and superficial fills me with wonder and gratitude.

For a moment India and the Western world stood closer together in friendship and respect. Rabindranath could not have asked for more.

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[1] Rathindranath Tagore, *On the edges of time* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 113.

[2] "Rabindranath Thakur to his daughter Mira", May 13, 1912, *Chithipatra* (Letters of Rabindranath), IV: 31-33. This correspondence henceforth cited as "RT to Mira."

[3] Edward J. Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore: poet and dramatist,* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 231-32.

[4] William Rothenstein, *Men and memories* (New York, 1932), II: 231.

[5] For his own account of his travels see Rothenstein, 228-53.

[6] Rothenstein, p. 249.

[7] Rothenstein, p. 262.

[8] Rabindranath Tagore, "A Friend", *Visva-bharati Quarterly,* n. s. X: 4 (February, 1945), pp. 157-58 . [Translated by Kshitis Ray from *Bharati,* Kartick, 1319 B.S. (October-November, 1912)]; Thompson, p. 232.

[9] Rothenstein, p. 263.

[10] As quoted by Ezra Pound, "Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe", October 3, 1912. In the Harriet Monroe Manuscript Collection of the University of Chicago. [Henceforth cited as "HM Mss."] I am indebted to the University of Chicago Library for permission to quote from these materials. I should also like to express my thanks to Mrs. Judith Bond, of the Rare Book Room, for her assistance and encouragement.

[11] As quoted by Rathindranath, p. 117.

[12] Rathindranath, p. 120.

[13] "Pound to Harriet Monroe", October 3, 1912. H.M. Mss. The underlinings and other markings are Mr. Pound's.

[14] India Society, *Report of the year 1912* (London, 1913), p. 24; Rothenstein, p. 226.

[15] Rothenstein, p. 263; "Yeats to Rothenstein", September 7, 1912, *The letters of William Butler Yeats*, edited by Allan Wade, (London, 1954), pp. 569-70.

[16] Rothenstein, p. 268.

[17] Thompson, p. 232.

[18] "RT to Mira", 10 Asvin, 1319 B.S. (September 25, 1912), *Chithipatra*, IV: 39.

[19] Rathindranath, p. 123.

[20] "Rabindranath Tagore to Harriet Monroe", January 4, 1913. H.M. Mss. Henceforth cited as RT to HM.

[21] "Rabindranath Thakur to his daughter Madhurilata (Bela)", February 19, 1913, *Chithipatra*, IV: 5-6. Henceforth cited as "RT to Bela".

[22] "RT to Mira", January 22, 1913, *Chithipatra*, IV: 48; "Rabindranath Thakur to his brother Jyotirindranath", February 13, 1913. *Chithipatra*, V: 15.

[23] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, LXXI: 289 (December 2, 1912), p 8.

[24] "Rathindranath Tagore to Harriet Monroe", December 9, 1912. HM Mss.

[25] Harriet Monroe, in *The golden book of Tagore*, edited by Ramananda Chatterjee, (Calcutta, 1931), p. 169; Alivia Howard Dunbar, *A House in Chicago* (Chicago, 1947), p. 93.

[26] "RT to HM", December 25, 1912. HM Mss.

[27] "RT to HM", January 4, 1913. HM Mss.

[28] "There is a wonderful motherliness about her", Rabindranath wrote to his daughter. "RT to Bela", February 19, 1913, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

[29] *Chicago Daily Maroon*, XI. 71 (January 24, 1913), p. 1. The *Maroon* was the student newspaper of the University of Chicago. For a week before Rabindranath's arrival, the paper featured a series of articles on the poet and selections of his verse.

[30] "RT to Bela", February 19, 1913, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

[31] Rathindranath, p. 125.

[32] Rothenstein, pp. 282-83; "RT to Mira", April, 1913, *Chithipatra*, IV: 52-53.

[33] Dunbar, p. 96; "RT to Bela", March 3, 1913, *Chithipatra*, IV: 11.

[34] Rathindranath, p. 122.

[35] May Sinclair in the *North American Review*, CXCVIII (May, 1913), p. 659.

[36] C. C. Martindale in the *Dublin Review*, CLIII (October, 1913), pp. 168-69; S. G. Dunn in the *Quarterly Review*, CCXIX: 436 (July, 1913), p. 168.

[37] Earnest Rhys in *Nineteenth Century*, LXXXVII (April, 1913), p. 902.

[38] S. G. Dunn, *loc. cit.*, p. 169.

[39] *Mercure de France*, CIV (August 16, 1913), p. 681, p. 689.

[40] India Society, *Report for the year 1913*, (London, 1914), p. 20.

[41] *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise*, V: 60 (December 1, 1913), pp. 833-51.

[42] *L'offrande lyrique*, translated from the English by Andre Gide, (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, 1914).

[43] The discussion which follows is based principally on the article by Andres Osterling in *Nobel: The man and his prizes* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951), pp. 11-112.

[44] As quoted by Andres Osterling, *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

[45] *New York Times*, LXIII: 20, 383 (November 4, 1913), p. 8.

[46] London *Times*, 40, 369 (November 5, 1913), p. 8.

[47] Dutch: *Wij-zangen*, translated from the English by Frederick von Eeden, (Amsterdam, 1913). Danish: *Sorig-ofre*, translated from the English by Louis V. Kahl, (Kbenhaun, 1913). The Swedish edition, translated by Andrea Butencihen, was published under the title, *Sängoffer*, (Stockholm, 1913).

[48] These editions, all translated from the English version, are: German, *Hohe Lieder*, translated by Marie L. Gothein, (Leipzig, 1914); Italian, *Offerta di canti*, translated by Arundel del Re. Lanciano, (Carabba, 1914); and Russian, *Gitandzhali* (Moskva, 1914).

[49] *Rabindranath Thakur: Ukozky poesie a prosy* [A selection of Poetry and Prose] (Prague, 1914) contained ten poems, a short story, and a philosophical essay. See Dushan Zbavited, "Rabindranath Tagore and Czechoslovakia", *Visvabharati Quarterly*, n. s. XXII (L956-57), p. 274. The other European editions cited here have been compiled from the various national bibliographies.

[50] The standard work on the imagists is Stanely Coffman, *Imagism* (New York, 1951). Also see Glenn Hughes, *Imagism and the imagists*, (Standford, 1931).

[51] On Asian influences see the article by John Gould Fletcher in Arthur Christy, ed., *The Asian legacy and American life* (New York, 1945).

[52] "Rabindranath Tagore", *Fortnightly Review*, XCIX (n. s. XCIII), (March 15, 1913); 571-79. The reference in the first quotation is to the Poet's Club founded in London by T. H. Holmes in 1908.

[53] In *The golden book of Tagore*, edited by Ramananda Chatterjee, p. 269.

[54] Pound, "Rabindranath Tagore", *loc. cit.*, p. 573, p. 575.

[55] In the *Quarterly Review* (London), 322 (October, 1914), p. 330.

[56] The same enthusiasm was not shared by all. Rothenstein writes that when it was suggested that Rabindranath be awarded an honorary degree by Oxford University, Lord Curzon replied that he knew many men in India who were more deserving. Rothenstein comments, "I wondered who they were, and I regretted that England had left it to a foreign country to make the first emphatic acknowledgement of his contribution to literature". Rothenstein, p. 266.

[57] Rothenstein, p. 264.

[58] C. F. Andrews, ed., *Letter to a Friend*, (London, 1928), p. 38.

[59] Rothenstein, pp. 267-68.

THE ATTEMPTED TRAFFIC WITH THE CHINESE THROUGH THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER (1826-58)

Dr. H. K. Barpujari

It has been generally held by scholars[1] that the Valley of the Brahmaputra had been for ages past the gateway of peoples and commodities between India and South-West China (Yunan and Szechuan). M. Cosh, in his *Topography of Assam*, refers to several routes from the North-East Frontier leading to the Lama country (China). These were along the river Dibang, the Mishmi route, the Phungan pass, the Manipur route and the Patkai pass to the valley of the Irrawadi[2]. The last named one, appears to have been most commonly used. It started from Jaipur, in the district of Sibsagar; after passing through the territory of the Singphos and the Patkai hills, this route debouched upon the valley the Hukwang, wherefrom travellers to Ava went down-stream by the Irrawadi and those to China proceeded up-stream for about 200 miles to the frontier of China. So vital was this route to the Burmese Government, whether for commercial traffic or for embarking on a policy of expansion in the north, that the King of Ava had to take special care for its proper maintenance.[3]

Through the above routes, the Kachins (Singphos), the Chins and particularly the Mishmis carried on, formerly, Assam-Burma and Assam-China trade, which consisted mostly in the barter of salt, gold, amber, ivory, woollens, honey, *mishmi teeta* (copus teeta) for Assamese cloths both cotton and silk, lac, rice and dried fish. From China, considerable quantities of silk, lacquered and China-ware, lead, copper and above all silver were also imported[4]. After the reduction of the Singphos, in early 1826, Mr. Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier, made an attempt to revive this frontier trade with a view to diverting these backward tribes from their predatory habits to peaceful avocations[5]. In that year, an amount of about Rs. 900.00 was invested; but the consignment did not reach the destination, it was plundered on the way and the sipahi on guard was killed[6]. The investment which was made in the following year promised well; for towards the close of the year, some representatives of a Chinese chief namely Koon Kien of Shawmo waited upon the Agent to the Governor-General while he was on tour in the Khasi Hills expressing a desire to extend the commercial traffic between the British Province and those of the south of the Patkai[7]. When, in early 1830, a similar mission reached Captain Neufville, the Political Agent, Upper Assam, the latter impressed upon Mr. Scott the desirability of encouraging the rising spirit of commercial enterprise amongst these border tribes. He, at the same time, proposed to establish a mart at the frontier out-post of Sadiya which was to be supplied with articles of Indian and foreign produce as most in demand at a reasonable price, receiving in return their local produce. The former should be red bread-cloth, white cotton cloth, muslin, coloured handkerchief, velvets, castor oil; and the latter would be chiefly ivory, gold, amber, copper, daws, spears etc. The principal tribal chief might be allowed to take the merchandise for the first year upon credit under engagement of repayment at the next. The experiment, it was greatly hoped, might eventually be extended with stock and market to the valley of the Hukwang and territories beyond it[8]. On the recommendation of the Agent, ever eager as he was to such enterprise, the Government of Bengal accorded their approval to the project and the amount of investment was also increased to Rs. 5,000.00. In May 1830, Mr. Charles

Robert Bruce, who was then holding a temporary charge of the Gunboats, was made the Commercial Agent with headquarters at Sadiya[9].

In course of a few months, unfortunately both Captain Neufville and Mr. Scott died. Mr. Robertson, who succeeded Scott as the Agent to the Governor-General, had little interest or even time to look after the frontier trade. Mr. Bruce somehow carried on the transactions, but the investments were too small to make them profitable. Few speculators ventured to take risk in a region of lawlessness, nor were they encouraged lest their profiteering instinct might involve the Government in political complications. In June 1834, on the report of Captain White, the Political Agent, Upper Assam, that Mr. Bruce had incurred only losses year after year, and that a considerable quantity of goods remained undisposed of, which were unsaleable at prices fixed by the Government, Major Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor-General, directed him to auction off the goods and to wind up the establishment[10].

The rigid close-door policy which the Government of China adopted, about this time, subjected the English merchants to humiliating restrictions in their tea-trade at the port of Canton. The discovery of the tea-plant in the North-East-Frontier supplied the East-India Company a new source of this important commodity of trade within their possessions; but they had to depend on China during the early years of operations for the supply of tea-makers, canisters and other artisans. Not only were the recruits to be provided with an advance and other amenities during their stay and journey to and from Assam, but regular remittance had to be made to their families in China in the face of the difficulties, arising out of the unfriendly relations with the Chinese Government[11]. The Government of India was, therefore, prepared to offer all possible encouragements to induce Chinese immigrants into Assam, so that there could be a constant[12] supply of skilled labour in their tea-gardens.

Towards the close of 1848, when the Government of India determined to terminate the experimental tea-cultivation in Upper Assam, Lum Ping Young, the Superintendent of the gardens, with a view to obtaining a new assignment laid before the Commissioner of Assam a scheme of commercial traffic with China through Moong Kong, in Upper Burma, the markets of which the Chinese visited annually in large number[13]. In a subsequent note to Captain Vetch, Principal Assistant, Lakhimpur, Young added that he would have gone direct to China, and from thence escorted a convoy towards Assam had there been no uncertainty as to the success of the undertaking from the vigilance of the guards placed by the Government of China at the frontier outposts[14]. He, therefore, desired to cross the frontier and contact with the merchants at Moong Kong. With the aid of his brothers, who were also merchants of the province of Quantung, Young hoped, it would not be difficult to persuade and encourage the merchants to cross over to

Assam with their merchandise[15]. As to the success of the enterprise, Major Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, entertained grave doubts[16]; for the intermediary territory between the marts resorted to by the Chinese and the boundary on this side of the Patkais was then so much disturbed by the Singphos, that neither the authorities in Assam could guarantee security of Lum Ping Young nor could the Burmese Government prevent these lawless tribes from plundering the Caravans. He, therefore, made no comment on the proposal, but simply forwarded it to the Government with the suggestion that Young might be put in some situation in the tea-plantations of Kumaun[17]. The scheme, on the other hand, received due considerations at the hands of the Deputy Governor of Bengal; "if the Chinese merchants visiting Ava could be induced by his mediation to visit Assam much advantage could be expected from such intercourse"; for he must have felt, in the success of Lum Ping Young, there lies the prospect of an alternative trade-route to China. The Commissioner of Assam was, therefore, immediately asked to examine the practicability of the measure and to submit his recommendations[18]. In his reply on February 12, 1849, Jenkins brought home to the authorities in Calcutta the difficulties to be encountered by Young on the way to Moonkong, and, incidentally, he also mentioned, that in the event the frontier was passable to the traders there would be a very large interchange of commodities between Assam and the nearest province of China since the roads were practicable, while the enterprising *Keya* (*Marwari*) merchants of Assam would soon find means to supply the Chinese with articles of Indian and European produce in exchange of those produced in China[19]. Some district officials, whose reports also Jenkins forwarded, did not consider the obstacles as too formidable. In their view, if Young could accomplish the journey under safe conduct of parties of the Singphos who frequented Assam and the valley of the Hukwang and also be able to induce a few Chinese to accompany him back, and once the Chinese satisfied themselves of the practicability and advantage to be derived from the traffic, others would surely follow[20]. Strengthened by these favourable reports and also the recommendation of the Government of Bengal, the President in Council accorded his approval to the project, and the Commissioner was directed in May, 1849, to depute Young to Upper Burma with a view to promoting the Sino-Assam traffic[21]. After being relieved of his duties of the Government plantations Young made preparation for his journey. Hardly the arrangements were completed, when insurrections[22] broke out in the territory of the Singphos. It held Young back from crossing the frontier; consequently, his mission, too, ended in failure.

On the north, through the passes known as the Bhutan *Duars*, the *Khampas* or the *Mombas*, an off-shoot of the Bhutias, hitherto carried on regular traffic with Tibet and indirectly with China. Until the first decade of the last century. Assam-Tibet trade, amounting at times over a lakh of rupees, was transacted at a place known as Chauna, two months journey from Lhassa, wherein gold-dust, rock-salt, horses, woollens, Yak-tails and Chinese-silk were exchanged for rice, silk, iron, lac, skins, buffalo horns, pearls and corals[23]. The confusions during the Burmese invasions followed by a period of unfriendly relations between the British and the Bhutan Government brought the northern trade to a standstill. To revive it in early 1833, Lieutenant Rutherford, Officer-in-charge, Central Assam, established some fairs and an exhibition hall, wherein he kept some attractive merchandise; but to his disappointment the response was far from encouraging[24]. To settle up the disputes with Bhutan, the Government of India deputed towards the close of 1837 a mission under Captain Pemberton[25], and the latter was also required to explore the possibilities of restoring communication and trade with Tibet. "There may be little hope" Jenkins remarked, "at present of placing the trade between the countries on a reciprocal footing as regards the permission of free entry of merchants . . . from the influence of Chinese policy over these states . . . yet some arrangements very profitable to us might probably be made for the promotion and extension of the present petty commerce by the establishment of periodical fairs along our frontier to which the Tibetan caravans might be prevailed upon to meet our merchants"[26]. The failure of Pemberton's mission in consequence of the internal revolution in Bhutan dashed to the ground all hopes of reviving the earlier traffic with Tibet and the countries beyond it.

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[1] Chatterjee, S. K.: *The place of Assam in the History and Civilization of India*, pp. 16, 22-23; Bagchi: *India and China*, p. 18 ff.

[2] M. Cosh: *Topography of Assam*, pp. 10-11, also on the various lines of overland communications between India and China, vide Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, London, Vol. V (1860), pp. 47-54: *Account on the Mountain Tribes on the Extreme North-East Frontier of Bengal;* J.A.S.B., Vol. V, pp. 203-4.

[3] Jenkins: *Note on the Burmese Route from Assam to the Hukwang;* Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869; pp. 67-74: Peal: *Note on the Old Burma Route over Patkai*, etc., J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVIII, Part II, pp. 69-82.

[4] M. Cosh: Topography of Assam, pp. 58 and 67. M. Cosh writes, "almost all the silver used in Assam is imported from China in a state of bullion and is afterwards coined or manufactured into ornaments. This bullion is the only article of circulation in the trade between the Assamese and the Chinese".

[5] Secret and Political Consultations, Bengal, 1827; 7th September, Nos. 17-19.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Political consultations, Bengal, 1830; 14 May, Nos. 29-30; Neufville to Scott, 27 January.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Political consultations, Bengal, 1837; 19 June, No. 62.

[11] Revenue consultations, India, 1840; 27 January, Nos. 9-17.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Revenue consultations, Bengal, 1849; 19 May, Nos. 15-17; Lum Ping Young to Jenkins, 21 September, 1848.

[14] *Ibid;* Lum Ping Young to Captain Vetch, 15 March.

[15] ***Ibid.***

[16] *Ibid;* Jenkins to the Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, 12 February.

[17] *Ibid;* Jenkins to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 19 January.

[18] *Ibid;* Under Secretary, Government of Bengal to Jenkins, 6 February.

[19] *Ibid;* Jenkins to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 12 February.

[20] *Ibid;* Hanray to Jenkins, 11 March; Veth to Matthie, 20 March.

Government of Bengal.

[21] *Ibid;* Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Under Secretary,

[22] Revenue consultations, India, 1849; 28 August, Nos. 41-42.

*There were in all eighteen duars; eight in Assam and the rest in Bengal. "These Dooars form . . . the most valuable portion of the Bootan territory; through them and from them are procured, either directly or indirectly, almost every article of consumption or luxury which the inhabitants of the hills possess . . . . The silks of China and the woollens of Tibet are purchased in barter for the Cotton, rice and other products of the plains". See Pemberton: *Report on the Bootan,* P. 95.

[23] M. Cosh: *Topography on Assam* p. 66; Pemberton: Report on Bootan, p. 151; Mackenzie: *North East Frontier,* p. 15.

[24] Revenue consultations, Bengal, 1836; 1 March, no. 40; vide Rutherford's reports on Central Assam.

[25] Political consultations, India 1837; 2 August no. 71; Pemberton: *Report on Bootan* pp 36-40.

[26] Political consultations, India, 1837, 12 June, no. 58; See Jenkins to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 May.

ECONOMIC MEASURES OF LORD RIPON'S GOVERNMENT, 1880-1884

SUNIL K. SEN

Lord Ripon is a famous name in Indian history. His government took important political and social measures in the direction of liberalising the Indian government. To the student of economic history the economic measures of his government are of much interest. We will review the economic measures which seem to indicate the beginnings of a shift in the industrial policy of the Indian Government.

When the Indian government began to proceed with the construction of railways, roads, telegraphs, irrigation works, docks and public buildings, there was generated a growing demand for a wide range of goods, especially for iron and steel goods. There emerged what have been aptly called "the three great consuming Departments"—the Railway, Military and Public Works Departments. The Civil Departments also purchased their requirements. The Government became the single biggest purchaser of steel and engineering goods in the country and a big buyer of a variety of goods. The India Office through the Stores Department supplied these stores on receipt of indents from the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India issued from time to time, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, rules which governed the purchase of the stores. The question of the purchase of the stores became invariably linked with the wider question of the encouragement of Indian industries. Indian manufacturers eagerly expected to get a share of the rising government orders and receive encouragement, particularly in the initial years of development.

The policy of purchasing stores in the local market was first formulated in Lord Salisbury's Financial Despatch, dated 7th December, 1876[1]. Lord Ripon's Government adopted an important resolution which was to guide the Government in the matter of purchase of "*bona fide* Indian manufactures" (other than iron and steel work) in the years to come. A relevant section of this resolution, dated 10th January, 1883, reads as follows: "The Government of India is desirous to give the utmost encouragement to every effort to substitute for articles now obtained from Europe, articles of *bona fide* local manufacture or of indigenous origin ; and when articles of Europe and of Indian manufacture do not differ materially in price and quality, the Government would always be disposed to give preference to the latter ; . . . There are many articles which may not be obtained in the local market but which can be made in the event of Government encouraging the manufacture"[2].

What was new in this new policy declaration was the insistence on the importance of purchasing articles of "*bona fide* local manufacture" in the local market. Government officers could now freely obtain articles of Indian manufacture for the use of their departments. An important principle was laid down, and the Government of India did not depart from it. In the new Stores Rules issued in 1909, 1912 and in 1913, this principle was retained[3]. With regard to iron and steel work, however, this principle was not adhered to, and Indian manufacturers felt that there had been a retreat from the resolution.

Lord Ripon's Government adopted a number of resolutions between 1881-82, in which the substitution of Indian manufactures for European manufactures was recommended. It was stated that the Government would enter into contracts with Indian manufacturers for the supply of the articles for "five years in the first instance". A list of articles of Indian manufacture was prepared, and mention was made of the local firms which could supply the articles[4]. The Annual Returns submitted by the Governor-General in Council to the Secretary of State show that the value of goods manufactured in India and substituted for stores hitherto imported through the Secretary of State rose from Rs. 39,42,421 in 1882-83 to Rs. 70,71,667 in 1883-84. It may be mentioned that the expenditure on stores produced in India rose appreciably in subsequent years[5]. The Returns reveal that Indian manufactures covered a wide range of goods. Indian industries supplied coal and coke, paper and pasteboard, cotton and linen and silk goods, woollen goods, leather and leather goods, oils, articles made of wood, tools and plants. It seems that Government spending stimulated the growth of some Indian industries, especially coal and coke, paper and pasteboard and woollen goods. The following figures have been taken from the Returns which will show the expenditure on coal, and coke, paper and pasteboard and woollen goods manufactured in India.

I

Coal and Coke

Year	Value (in Rs.)
1882-83	3,54,824
1883-84	15,86,047

II

Paper and Pasteboard

1882-83	3,66,842
1883-84	3,79,060

III

Woollen Goods

1882-83	82,850
1883-84	1,01,854

It will be beyond the scope of this paper to examine the part played by Government spending in India's industrial development. It is undeniable, however, that industrialisation was proceeding very slowly and in a lop-sided fashion. In a note prepared by Lord Ripon's Government an indication of the essential pre-requisite for India's industrialisation is given in the following extract: "Some gradual progress is being made in the direction of substituting Indian made articles for those of English manufacture; but it will not be possible to make any very sensible impression upon the total amount of stores imported from England until iron work and machinery . . . can be manufactured in India"[6]. In this note the problem of India has been posed in an objective fashion. Industrial policy should be directed to promote the manufacture of "iron work and machinery", or real industrialisation will remain a chimera. We will now briefly refer to the endeavours made by Ripon's government in the direction of developing Indian iron industry.

The Bengal Iron Works Company which had erected blast furnaces and foundry at Barakar suspended operations in 1879. It may be mentioned that attempts to manufacture pig iron at Porto Novo and at Kumaon had also ended in failure. The re-establishment of iron industry was a matter of supreme importance, and Lord Ripon's Government proposed to purchase the iron works. The Home Government was then pursuing a *laissez-faire* policy. Interference by the state in industry was considered to be fatal to efficient production. The state was to avoid participation in the productive process. A series of telegrams passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. At last the Secretary of State sanctioned the proposals "in deference to your strongly-expressed opinions and urgent recommendation". The Secretary of State thought it necessary to inform the Government of India that "the objections entertained to your proposals were withdrawn with considerable reluctance"[7]. The Barakar Iron Works was purchased on April 13, 1882, for Rs. 4,30,761 and an additional amount of Rs. 16,442 was spent to purchase the stores belonging to the old company[8].

It seems that *laissez-faire* was a dogma which conflicted with reality. The State was forced to participate in production, so that the iron industry could be re-established. The rapidly rising expenditure on railway stores was a fact which could not be ignored. Lord Ripon's Government had taken important step in the direction of developing the iron resources of India. The Barakar Iron Works was run as a State enterprise between 1882 and 1889. It was put in charge of Ritter Von Schwarz, a German metallurgist; it successfully undertook the manufacture of pig iron and miscellaneous iron castings.[9]

Lord Ripon's Government adopted an important resolution in the Finance and Commerce Department on August 4, 1882, in which some tangible concessions were proposed to the iron industry. The Government declared that they would part with the Barakar Iron Works to any Company which had "sufficient capital, skill and resources", and proposed "to take annually for ten years at fixed price not less than certain weight of the Company's manufactures". The stress which Lord Ripon's Government wanted to lay on the importance of establishing iron industry in India, is expressed in the first paragraph of this resolution. We reproduce this paragraph :

"The Government of India have, for some time past, had under special consideration the importance of developing the iron industry in India. The advantages which such development would afford both to state and public,—by cheapening the cost of railway construction and maintenance, and of works for improving the water-supply ; by substituting metal for more perishable materials in buildings ; by reducing the home charges and their concomitant loss by exchange ; by creating for the population non-agricultural employment ; and by increasing the means for profitable investment of capital,—are too well known to require lengthened exposition".[10]

The resolution of Lord Ripon's Government was not favourably received in England which was then passing through the period of the Great Depression. The "Home Manufacturers" demurred. The *Economist* carried a campaign attacking the policy of Lord Ripon's Government, which appeared to them to be "a policy of protection to native industries".[11] The Secretary of State, in his despatch, dated 16th November, 1882, refused to sanction the proposals. It was pointed out that Indian manufacturers of iron "must be supported by their own strength, and not relieved by artificial means from the natural competition of other countries".[12] In a strongly worded despatch, dated 23rd January, 1883, the Governor-General in Council defended the policy of the Government. They maintained that they "rejected the idea of protecting Indian industries" and had totally abolished the import duties, despite the fact that the abolition of import duties "has been regarded by a considerable section of the Indian community as having been dictated in the interests of England". The despatch concludes with these withering words: "It is, we presume, certain that the establishment of the iron and steel industry would be viewed with disfavour by the persons interested in the manufacture of these articles in England. In this connection it is by no means improbable that even the most legitimate efforts to develop and encourage local industry will be represented by those interested in the matter as though such efforts involved the adoption of a protective policy on the part of the Government of India".[13]

What was obvious to Lord Ripon's Government was less obvious to the Secretary of State. In his despatch, dated 7th June, 1883, the Secretary of State refused to sanction the proposal to take a specified amount of the Company's manufactures at fixed price.[14] Thus the proposals of Lord Ripon's Government were negatived. Nevertheless, a new policy of assisting Indian iron industry had been laid down, and the Government had to modify their policy in subsequent years.

Lord Ripon left India in 1884. It is not fortuitous that Ripon is remembered as a friend of India whose journey from Simla to Bombay "was a triumphal march such as India has never witnessed".

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[1] Fin. despatch from, No. 477, Dec. 7, 1876, B

[2] Fin. despatch to, No. 117, April 28, 1884, B

[3] See the Stores Rules of 1909, 1912 and 1913 (CD—Stores, 1909, 1912, 1913 Pro. Vols.)

[4] CD—Accounts and Finance, 1881, 1882,B

Woollen Cloth—The Cawnpore Woollen Mills; Egerton Mills; Bangalore Woollen Mills; Chemicals: Waldie and Co., Calcutta; Long cloth: Indian Cotton Mills; Padlocks: Roorkee Workshops; Linseel Oil: Gouripore Co., Calcutta; Handcuffs: Jessop and Co., Burn and Co., Richardson and Cruddas, Twine and rope: Ahmuty and Co.; Paper: Bally Paper Mills; Ink: Sherafally Badruddin and Hormasji Rustamji, Bombay; Amrita Lal Ray of Calcutta.

[5] The Annual Returns will be found in Fin. despatches from the Governor-General in Council to the Secretary to State.

[6] Summary of Financial Results, Fin. despatch to, No. 76, March 20, 1883, B

[7] Despatch from, August 25, 1881 (CD—Accounts and Finance, April, 1882, B).

[8] Fin. despatch to, August 4, 1882, B

[9] See the Prospectus of the Bengal Iron and Steel Co. (CD—Coal and Iron, November, 1889, B).

[10] CD—Coal and Iron, September, 1882, B.

[11] CD—Coal and Iron, February, 1883, B.

[12] *Ibid*

[13] CD—Coal and Iron, February, 1883, B ; Also see Fin. despatch to, No. 26, January 23, 1883, B.

[14] CD—Coal and Iron, July, 1883, B.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

[*Summary*]

AMBIKA CHARAN KUNDU

This paper is based mainly on Archival materials and I have used British Parliamentary Documents. I have tried to trace the story of the flow of Indian communities from various Indian ports to the East African territories, and have mentioned their political and economic conditions in those territories.

The historical connections of India with the East African territories were long antecedent to the arrival of Europeans in these regions or the establishment of British power. The foundations of the prosperity of these territories were laid centuries ago by the enterprise of Indian traders and settlers. It may not unfairly be claimed that to the resources of India and the enterprise, capacity, industry and personal sacrifice of Indians the East African territories owe not only their development, but even their preservation during the First World War. The Indian outnumbered the European settlers, in these territories, by some four to one. They controlled by far the greater pàrt of the trade of the countries concerned and paid the bulk of the taxes. With slight modifications, the Indian system of law prevailed in the Protectorate and in the colony before and after the First World War. The currency in Kenya was Indian, the rise and fall of the exchange being based on trade and financial relations with India. So far as Kenya and Uganda are concerned, the clerical staff of the public Services and the railways were manned by Indians, as in the mechanical staff of the railway workshops. The building and allied trades were almost entirely carried on by Indian contractors and skilled artisans.

Since the time of the coming of the Boers, after the South African War, racialism pervaded the administration of East Africa and between the years 1911-1919, when Indians had no representation in the legislative council, the European settlers got law after law to deprive the Indians of every valuable right.

REPORT OF DISCUSSIONS

Rapporteurs: Miss M. P. Kamerkar (Bombay)
Dr. B. Sheikh Ali (Mysore)
Shri Iqbal Kaul (Bhopal)
Dr. Barun De (Burdwan)

The proceedings of Section III opened on the 29th December, 1961.

Political History

The following papers were read:

Dutta, Sankar Kumar—The Background of Diplomatic Contact between the Gaekwar and the East India Company.

Sheikh Ali, B.—Why did the Nizam desert the English in the First Mysore War ?

Basu, Santosh Kumar—Notes on the Causes of the Failure of the Macartney Mission to China.

Rose, Leo—China and the Anglo-Nepal War (1814-1816).

Bose, Nemai Sadhan—James Silk Buckingham and Indian Affairs.

Kaul, Iqbal—Bhopal State's political relations with the East India Company (1818-1825).

Dr. A. C. Banerjee then commented on the papers. He said that all the papers were interesting and dealt with a wide variety of points.

Shri Datta's paper was not relevant to the title which he had given it. If Shri Datta was interested in the early period, he should have referred to the records of the Mughal Court in the Persian sources, where references to the role of Abhay Singh may be found. Rajput records of this potentate should also have been consulted. If Shri Datta was interested in the origins of the Gaekwar family, then he might have studied Maratha papers. All this would supplement the English sources.

Dr. Banerjee was impressed with Dr. Sheik Ali's documentation and use of original material. The individual motives and personal factors in diplomacy had been clearly analysed. Dr. Banerjee wondered whether the Nizam was alone among the princes in being insincere or unscrupulous in this period. The Madras Government had bungled right through the War and came off the worst. None of the personalities involved was to be seen in a favourable light.

Dr. Banerjee discounted Shri Bose's arguments about the failure of the Macartney Mission. He believed that it was ignorance of the country and conditions of China, inadequate diplomatic information on the subject, and preconceptions about Chinese policy based on information a hundred years old, which had led to Macartney's failure.

Dr. Banerjee thought that Dr. N. S. Bose was very categoric in his assessment of Silk Buckingham. But renunciation of the slave trade was not a very unusual idea to advocate. The advocacy of freedom of the Press was at best quixotic in the circumstances of the period. Dr. Banerjee warned historians against taking Buckingham's constitutional plans too seriously in respect of their actual influence. Even in Sir Charles Wood's time, nearly forty years later, there was no question of accepting the idea of Indian participation in Government. The Council of 1861 was only an advisory body on problems of legislation. Historians should beware of reading non-existent influences into their judgment of the ideas of their period.

Dr. Banerjee said the period under study in Shri Iqbal Kaul's paper, was an important epoch in the consolidation of the subsidiary alliances. But Shri Kaul had made some speculative generalisations on degeneracy in Indian states like

Hyderabad which could perhaps be sustained only when a detailed study of each state had been prepared. Dr. Banerjee asked for more studies of this nature regarding the relations of the British Government with Indian states, which would throw light on the influence of the subsidies and of the Residents on the progressive degeneracy of conditions within each state.

Thereafter the meeting was open for discussion. Shri Tewari (Aligarh) pointed out with reference to Dr. Sheik Ali's paper, that he had overlooked the fact of religious affinity between the Nizam and Haidar Ali, as a very probable cause of the latter deserting the British in the First Mysore War. Dr. Sheik Ali had taxed the Nizam with breach of faith, but there was no permanent treaty between him and the British. Shri Tewari finally suggested that it was improbable that the Nizam could have been bribed by Hyder Ali since Hyder Ali could hardly compete with the Company in the matter of funds for bribery.

Shri Saswadkar (Poona) refused to accept the imputation of religious bases for diplomatic *ententes*. If religion had been an important factor in this period there would have been a Hindu alliance led by the Marathas against the Muslims. Since no such alignments ever took place, he did not believe that Islam could be a basis for diplomatic alliance.

Shri Panigrahi (Delhi) claimed that in the 18th century, there was hardly any sense of religious community in diplomatic relations. The Quadruple Alliance of 1778 was non-religious, both in character and in its motives, while the Marathas hardly ever made common cause with other Hindu powers; they were not a people with much political foresight. Motives of religious cohesion should not be seen when they did not exist.

Shri Tewari reiterated his belief that Muslim princes were drawn to each other by their religious views.

Dr. Sheik Ali, replying, emphasised the insincerity and unscrupulousness of the Nizam at the time of the First Mysore War. He said that the Madras Governors of the period helped to alienate allies. This was especially true of Charles Bourchier, to whom Hyder Ali referred as "a great fool". Dr. Sheik Ali did not accept Shri Tewari's view that religion should be given a pre-eminent position in his analysis of the motives of the Nizam.

The following papers were then read:

Jha, J. C.—The Nature of the Kol Insurrection of 1831-32.
Ahmed, Safi—A Sketch of the Life of Masihuddin Khan
Kamerkar, Sm. M. P.—A Study in British Paramountcy—Baroda, 1874-5.
Srivastava, Avinash Chandra—Thakur Ranmat Singh of Rewa.

Dr. Amba Prasad (Delhi) made a general comment that all historians were interested in discovering facts, but the papers before him showed that they often made generalisations not warranted by the facts. He selected three papers for illustrating his views on what he felt should be the standard and objective of study in the writing of papers.

Shri Srivastava's paper illustrated the importance of regional studies of the national movement. But when one wrote regional history, it might be necessary to check enthusiasm and not let it disturb a balanced perspective. For instance Shri Srivastava had not proved that Ranmat Singh was a forerunner of national feeling in Rewa in 1857.

Dealing with the question of what sources were useful, Dr. Amba Prasad accepted the fact of the importance of local records. But he wished to see more work done on local traditions. Shri Srivastava had tried to collect some songs on Ranmat Singh.

Dr. Prasad said Mr. Safi Ahmed's paper on the anti-British pamphleteer of Oudh was very thorough, but seemed to lack a sense of proportion.

Masihuddin's tract was known to historians. A compendious survey of the work itself was hardly necessary.

Dr. Jagadish Jha (Patna) commenting on the paper on Ranmat Singh, suggested that Shri Srivastava might have related Dr. K. K. Datta's work on Kunwar Singh with his own data, and thus thrown light on the relations between revolutionaries in Rewa and revolutionaries in Western Behar. Dr. Jha also pointed out that Shri Srivastava had pronounced the name of the subject of his paper as Ranmat Sinha. Both pronunciation and spelling was Ranmat Singh.

Dr. Sulekh Chandra Gupta (Delhi) pointed out that the paper on Rewa had not tried to show if tenurial rights and relations in territories where the revolt took place had any influence on the rising. Such a study might give a clearer picture of the underlying causes of the rising, and place the rebellion in a broader perspective than a purely personal biography of a clan leader. Such a study was difficult because few other sources existed for getting a detailed picture of the underlying causes of revolt in agrarian areas. He himself had done extensive field-work in many villages in Uttar Pradesh where it might have been thought that the memory of 1857-9 revolts would have persisted. But no traditions, which might be dated as being roughly contemporary with the Revolts did in fact persist.

The following papers were then read:

Singh, S. R.—Russophobia and the Growth of the Congress.

Voigt, J.—The Growth of Nationalism in 19th Century India seen from the particular aspect of the Idea of Nation.

Rothermund, Dietmar—An analysis of British Indian policy.

Dr. H. L. Gupta commented that Shri Singh wished to refute Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee's idea that the foundation of the Congress was due to Russophobia, on the part of the founders. The danger of Russia existed more in the minds of conservatives than of liberals. Two factors were responsible for the rise of the Congress in India, and are generally underemphasised. Contemporary ideas and movements in Great Britain were very important, while the Queen's proclamation of 1858 promising equality of treatment to Indians as well as the 1867 Reform Act presaging full democracy in Britain seemed to bode well for nationalism in India. These ideas must have stirred the founders of the Congress more than the conservative idea of Russophobia.

Dr. Gupta was inclined to agree with categories which had been put forward by J. Voigt. But he asked the writer to clarify how the influence of social reformers like Swami Dayanand would fit into the scheme which had been put forward.

In Dr. Rothermund's paper, Dr. Gupta felt that he could see the manner in which the influence of the Morley-Minto Reforms had intensified the split in the Congress, and had affected the pacification of Indian unrest after 1908.

In the general discussion, Shri Bipan Chandra (Delhi) said that Dr. Voigt had ignored many factors in the growth of 19th century Indian nationalism e.g., tendencies in Madras, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. This had led him into generalisations about the nature of nationalism which had been based only on the experience of Bengal. The evidence was, therefore, much too selective and limited to permit of accurate definition of stages in Indian history. Even in Bengal, Dr. Voigt had given disproportionate emphasis to Nabagopal Mitra. There were other leaders with varying views. Sisirkumar Ghosh of the Amrita Bazar Patrika and his group for example, had based their agitation on the need to give pre-eminence to the vernacular languages and replace English as the medium of culture by Bengali. Dr. Voigt had characterised this as revivalism and by revivalism seemed to connote anti-rationalism. Neither the

Ghosh brothers in the earlier period nor Tilak were anti-rationalistic. It was incorrect to apply to people labels based on insufficient evidence and narrow definitions. In 1905 Tilak had said that extremism was only a phase in the Indian national movement. Dr. Voigt had ignored this qualification by Tilak himself. Shri Bipan Chandra also inquired where Lala Lajpat Rai would fit into the proposed scheme of categories.

Shri V. N. Datta (Kurukshetra) referring to Dr. Voigt's distinction between rationalistic and romantic stages in the idea of a nation suggested that it did not adequately explain the historical context of the age of Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal. He enquired whether these categorisations helped anyone to understand the general problem of whether the Raja was a nationalist and if he was accepted as a nationalist, what sort of nationalist. Shri Datta asked for greater precision in understanding leaders before fitting them into a scheme of categories.

Dr. Khilnani (Delhi) postulated that there was an organic unity in the national movement which could only be appreciated if it was taken as a whole. The division of ideas into cut-and-dried categories was artificial and unrealistic. He believed that spiritual and intellectual rationalisation of political attitudes was a mode of thought limited to the upper strata of intellectuals. The ordinary members of the middle-class were much more concerned to preserve the materialistic side of the benefits of self-government, and along with the masses, these were the people who had made a success of the idea of nationalism. Gandhiji's success lay in a realisation of this fact. The romantic idea of the "nation" might often be used to maintain the ideas of reactionary elements. But spiritual ideas did not impregnate the nationalist movement of the Indian masses to any very great extent. Of course this movement had had religious leaders, but such people and their ideas did not dominate the entire picture of the movement at any period.

Dr. Barun De (Burdwan) pointed out that Dr. Voigt had perhaps given the impression that he was thinking in terms of a chronological periodisation of the ideologies which express the thought of Indian nationalism. In fact, the paper had only distinguished between certain types of thought which form common strands throughout the period of Indian nationalism. The paper only sought to categorise certain types of ideas, not to periodise their occurrence according to a chronological order of rational, romantic and spiritual phases. It was a pity that Dr. Voigt in his talk had given an impression of such phases, for this could hardly be proved from the evidence provided.

Dr. Voigt agreed that he had confined his case study to Bengal. In the first century of nationalism, Bengal was one of the most important areas of Indian nationalism. But, when Bankimchandra wrote his essays and satires (e.g. *Kamalakantar Daptar*) he was speaking for the whole of India, and not for Bengal alone. Dr. Voigt suggested that this might be true in other cases also where Bengal could prove an index to others' ideas. He also agreed that he had not endeavoured to imply any chronological periodisation in the development of his salient categories. All that he had suggested was that different strands existed in what is known as the idea of the nation. He agreed that his paper was not an attempt to periodise, but to categorise.

With regard to Dr. Rothermund's paper, Dr. De supported his analysis of how the intricate official relationships within the Government had led to manipulative processes operating on public opinion as well as to the furtherance of interest groups within the public. With reference to Risley's role, he said that in the India Office Library in London, there was an article by Risley on the prevalence of caste as the necessary constituent factor in all Indian society and all Indian politics. This article was written during the period of the

Morley-Minto Reforms. It had reminded Dr. De of the neo-anthropological style of writing practised by exponents of the "superior race" theory at the turn of the century. There was very appreciative comment on the copy of the article to the effect that Risley's interpretation of Indian politics was completely correct. The commentator was possibly Morley.

Administrative History

The following papers were read:

De, Barun—Arguments of the East India Company in favour of Decentralisation at the time of the Passage of Pitt's India Act, June-July, 1784.

Saswadkar, P. L.—A Note on the Kotwali of Poona in the last Quarter of the 18th Century.

Nagar, R. N.—The Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces under the East India Company, 1807-1831.

Grover, B. L.—Postal System in India under the East India Company.

Natarajan, S.—Act of State and Rule of Law (1800-1875).

Dr. H. L. Gupta thought that Dr. De's paper was about the old controversy between Crown and Company with regard to centralisation and was an excellent account of the arguments put forward in favour of decentralisation. But it did not tell us anything about the Crown's arguments in favour of centralisation. Dr. Gupta would have liked a description of this to redress the balance.

With regard to Shri Saswadkar's paper on the Poona Kotwali, he thought it a sad commentary on the administration of Nana Fadnavis. Marathas were never known for high morality and in fact offences against sexual morality were quite common among them.

With regard to Prof. Nagar's paper, Dr. Gupta felt that instead of giving a sweeping commentary on the entire system of revenue administration under the Board of Commissioners in Oudh, it would have been more useful for historians if Prof. Nagar had made analyses of different schemes which were put forward by Collectors and also commented on by Lord Minto and Lord Moira.

Dr. Gupta found Shri Grover's paper on early Postal Systems slightly misleading, as it tried to improve on existing facts. The paper had, in fact, stressed the non-existence of any postal system in the early period. This fact could have been used as a title. The paper ended in 1837 and no explanation was given of why postal rates differed between Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, as well as between Europeans and Indians. Dr. Gupta felt there should be such explanation as there was much description on these points.

Shri Grover replied that he had written a research paper and it had necessarily had to be limited to a few points, so that it could not cover every point that arose in the minds of readers.

Dr. Sulekh Chandra Gupta raised some factual points about Prof. Nagar's paper which he thought was one-sided and unbalanced. He said that Colebrooke never resigned from the Board of Commissioners; only Fox and Stucker had resigned. Dr. Gupta also said that no mention had been made about disparity of salaries between Europeans and Indians in the service of the Company; but this was one of the major reasons for corruption. Dr. Gupta argued that we should not become victims to sentimentalism, when we endeavoured to defend Indian officials from charges of corruption in this period. The existence of corruption had been proved by factual evidence, brought forward by a Commission in 1821. The question could be viewed in the light of disparity of salaries which were goads to corruption.

Dr. Sulekh Chandra Gupta also asked for more evidence about differences of opinion within the Board on the theory and practice of land tenures. There were two groups even within the Board—those who were in favour of the Indian aristocracy, and those who favoured the peasantry.

Prof. Nagar replied that he believed that the Board of Commissioners was concerned with superintendance of revenue collection and not with the introduction of innovations. He had consequently not felt it necessary to inquire into the origins of ideas about innovations in this period. He had not studied any differences of opinion as regards policy within the Board. He also informed the meeting that he had already published a paper in the Indian History Congress in a previous session on the question of the corruption of Indian officials.

Dr. De said that there were very clear and well-known accounts of the Crown demands for more centralisation in India in the 18th century, and of the development of different tiers of British authority, to be found in the late Professor V. T. Harlow's Chapter (II) in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II, and in Miss L. S. Sutherland's *East India Company in 18th Century Politics*. A novel interpretation based on a variety of new sources could also be found in his own thesis, submitted to Oxford University in 1961: he had given a brief summary of some of his findings for the 1782-84 period in the introduction to the present paper and in his summary. The present paper was meant to throw light on the more obscure side of the medal, and could hardly have been made any longer.

Social History

The following papers were read:

Bearce, George D.: The Culture of the 18th Century—A Reappraisal.

Mukherjee, Nilmani: The Ryotwari Settlement and the Institution of Caste in the Madras Presidency (1792-1827).

Krishan Lal: The Census of the Delhi Territory, 1823

Mitra, R. C.: Sanskrit Education in Bengal in the 19th Century.

Samanta, Sailendra Nath: Wall Paintings in Baharu in West Bengal.

Dr. H. L. Chopra's paper on "The Development of Baha'ism to India 1844-1860" was circulated by the author to the members present.

Dr. Bhattacharyya, the Commentator, said that Dr. Mitra's paper was a good compilation of the published sources such as reports of Educational Commissions. It showed transitional phases and ideas in the old indigenous system of Sanskrit studies in *tols*, revealed controversies about the role of Sanskrit in Anglicised education and furnished the views of many notable pandits and Sanskrit scholars who participated in these controversies.

Dr. Bhattacharya himself dwelt in detail on the operation of caste in Sanskrit education; and on the manner in which *tols* were maintained by Brahmanas, maintained largely by *Vidayas* or small donations from village zamindars. He emphasised the uniqueness of the institution in Bengal, the paternal role of the Pandit, and the role of the wife of the latter in the household of the *tol*. Dr. Bhattacharya drew attention to the self-sacrifice of the village pandits in conditions of minimal state aid.

With regard to Dr. Hiralal Chopra's paper, Dr. Bhattacharya noted that some of the statements and records of the activities of the leaders of the movement were so recent that they could hardly be included in history. He wished to be excused for saying that it even bordered on a type of propaganda work for the Bahai movement. He suggested that the Indian History Congress should indicate clearly which type of article should be submitted at its meetings, lest it become entangled in controversy.

Shri V. N. Datta referred to Dr. Bhattacharya's criticism of Dr. Mitra's paper as based on printed sources. He enquired why sources of Indian history like Adam's Report, or the papers of Buchanan on village education, or the report of Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna should not be classified as original sources of Indian history. Unprinted manuscripts were not the only source of historical studies. Dr. Mitra's paper had an original interpretation of facts which were hardly well-known.

Shri V. N. Datta, reverting to Dr. Mitra's paper, said that he would like to know more about the particular classes on whom Sanskrit education had had any impact in the 19th century, and details as to which Sanskrit texts were studied. He said there was some material on the subject in the National Archives. He wondered why Sanskrit education relapsed into relative obscurity after the 1870s, considering the serious thought given to it by indigenous scholars.

Dr. B. De said that while the meeting was still concerned with the subject of traditional culture, he would like to draw its attention to Prof. Bearce's paper on "A Reappraisal of the Culture of 18th Century India". He had given some thought to the problem of why India fell such an easy prey to the invaders, and why real regeneration did not come until the days of the Westernising movement in the 19th century. He had felt that the springs of Indian culture had not been vitalised for a long time, and were completely dry in the 18th century. He thought that Prof. Bearce's advice to the meeting about methodology and historical approach to reappraisal were in the nature of truisms and did not really prove his case. Dr. De took certain component elements in what is commonly known as culture. He enquired whether there was any new movement in 18th century religion, like the revival of the 15th and 16th centuries: whether there was any notable literature beyond the eroticism of Bharatchandra or the desperation of Sauda and Ramprasad; or whether in painting, there was any hope of anything better than the admittedly virile but equally certain second-rate work in Basohli. This was the background of the Westernised movements of the 19th century.

Dr. Bearce explained that he had mainly wished to point out that some English historians had over-emphasised the element of decline, according to their prejudices. He thought that 18th century paintings in their different varieties were much better than Indian painting in the 19th century. He also referred to Prof. Humayun Kabir's remark that Shah Waliullah began a religious renascence in Islam in the 18th century.

Dr. De did not feel that the contrast of a period of decadence with a period of total decay proved the excellence of the first period. He reaffirmed his desire for concrete evidence of excellence. On the other hand, English Collectors in Bengal in 1802 had reports on the state of rural culture in the districts, which could not all have been biassed by Evangelicalism or Utilitarianism. Dr. Salah-uddin Ahmed of Rajshahi University in East Pakistan, in a thesis recently presented to London University had used these to highlight the reawakening of Bengal in the 19th century.

Dr. Jagadish Jha referring to Mr. Krishanlal's paper on the 1823 Census of the Delhi Territory suggested that the enumeration of figures without any analysis or breakdown were hardly significant in historical explanation. He asked for more interpretative analysis and less raw materials.

The following papers were then read:

Kopf, David—Fort William College and the Origins of the Bengal Renaissance.

Economic History

Barpujari, H. K.—Attempted Traffic with the Chinese Through the North-East Frontier (1831-1858).

Sen, Sunil—Economic Measures of Lord Ripon's Government.

Kundu, Ambika Charan—Indians in East Africa.

Dr. N. K. Sinha commenting on this group, noted on Mr. Kopf's paper that the study of the regeneration of a whole people was undoubtedly a very enervating pursuit. This often led regenerators, tired of a thankless task, to make comments on their pupils which only showed the state of mind of the former, but were hardly useful sources for generalisations. Mr. Kopf had written a fresh interpretation of his subject; but he might have been a bit more cautious about accepting comments on the small number of literate people in Bengal at the beginning of the 19th century. Mr. Kopf had also disproportionately exaggerated the role of Fort William College at the expense of the Asiatic Society.

Regarding Shri Barpujari's paper, Dr. Sinha asked for more information about trade in salt since the area Shri Barpujari had discussed was well-known for this commodity and it would be interesting if new data on the direction of its export could be brought out.

Dr. Sinha said that Shri Sunil Sen's paper was ably written. But he would suggest that Shri Sen slightly detach himself from the efforts of British entrepreneurs and judge for himself who were the benficiaries of these ventures. Surely it was the British shareholders who profited most through their control of the new British enterprises. The fact that these were undertaken in Lord Ripon's liberal days did not change the fact that this meant the passage of the control of the home market of India into the hands of British industrialists.

SYMPOSIUM

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIAN HISTORIANS TO THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

(i) *Ancient Period*

DR. ROMILA THAPAR

In considering the question of Indian historians writing on the ancient period to the process of national integration, two facets of the problem have to be faced. The first is a definition of the phrase 'national integration'. Let me assume a working definition as the basis. Integration implies a tolerant attitude, an attitude that is willing to accommodate diverse and opposing opinions without suppressing them at various levels of economic, social and intellectual life. (I use the term intellectual in its broad sense). This naturally includes the aspects which we are most immediately concerned with at the present moment: religious integration, political integration between the rulers and the ruled and regional integration. The existence of toleration, not as a conscious act but as a normal attitude assumes the recognition of an Indianness which is above the distinctions and divisions which lead to a lack of integration. A national consciousness among Indians of being a nation primarily and owing a *political* loyalty to the state which is above social, economic and religious factors, would be one expression of national integration. The second facet of the problem of national integration concerns those who study the remote past, ancient India. It is the need to determine how far this type of integration existed in the remote past, and whether therefore modern historians writing about this past have described it and placed it in perspective.

Since the question of the historian and national integration concerns the historian in his role as the moulder of public opinion and the instructor of the lay mind, I have chosen a representative selection of histories of ancient India and related subjects, which have influenced the popular understanding of ancient India. Works of a specialised nature meant for a limited audience have not been included. I shall not be reviewing each book in turn, but shall generally examine the assumptions made in these works and which assumptions are the foundation of the historical interpretation of the period. Thus my remarks are based on the works of the following historians: A. S. Altekar, Beni Prasad, R. G. Bhandarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, U. N. Ghoshal, R. Gopalan, R. C. Majumdar, R. K. Mookerji, K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, H. C. Ray, H. C. Raichaudhuri, R. S. Tripathi, and G. Yazdani.

I should like to start by taking up the second facet. Here, the assumptions have been that the Indian past was a remarkably tolerant one in which a variety of patterns in human behaviour and thought were permitted, stemming from a certain extra-spiritual quality which the ancient Indians possessed. How did this attitude come about. The biggest challenge to the historian of ancient India came from the early European historians writing on the subject, such as Lassen, Smith, Tarn and Whitehead, etc. They were nurtured on the idea that Greek civilisation was supreme and nothing anywhere else came up to it, and that the history of India was that of a long line of despotic rulers, with the British bringing in the first elements of representative government. The challenge was accepted and some good historical writing emerged such as that of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and also some spectacular and more dubious writing such as that of Jayaswal. There was a tremendous desire to delve into India's past in order to meet this challenge and also because the national movement was creating a pride and enthusiasm in the Indian heritage. But since the material superiority of Europe could not be denied, an attitude grew up of an inverted inferiority complex, where it was maintained that although Europe was materially in advance of Asia and particularly India, in spiritual matters India had always been superior, and one way in which this superiority was expressed was in the statement that Indians throughout their history have been a more tolerant nation than others. In taking this stand we historians have placed too much reliance on theory and texts. The type of logic involved is one which maintains that the reign of Asoka was one of great toleration since he makes a plea for it in his edicts. Whereas in fact the real logic is that it was a period of considerable social conflict, such that he had to make a special plea for tolerance. Even within the theoretical picture there are contradictions. On the one hand, in Hindu sources there is a plea for tolerance and on the other, the most severe lack of tolerance is prescribed for social relations, where non-conformists are to be rooted out.

Much the same holds true about the remarks concerning national consciousness and national unity. This was not a predominant factor in the Indian mind during the ancient period. For instance, the closest that the Indian sub-continent came to being under a single government during this period was under the early Mauryas, otherwise political boundaries were continually changing. Yet it is clear from the attitude of Indians to foreigners that they did not think of themselves as a nation, the reaction was a localised one depending on political expediency. A great deal has been made of the Indian opposition to the Greeks during the Mauryan period, as a national effort against the foreigner. Chandragupta's campaign (in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C.) against the Seleucids received neither material support nor moral support from the kingdoms south of the Vindhyas, who were anyway unaware of the conflict. Subhagasena, a little over a hundred years later, battled alone with the Bactrian Greeks without even an echo of support from elsewhere. The Greeks were *Mlecchas* as long as they were carrying out campaigns in north-western India, but once they assumed political control in these regions, they became degenerate *ksatriyas*.

The point I am trying to make is that we historians have not placed the events and attitudes of the past in their correct perspective. By maintaining that Indian society has always been an integrated society, tolerant and nationally unified, we have landed ourselves in the difficult position of being unable to explain why there should have come about this change in India, all of a sudden. The most that history can do, according to the critics of historical discipline, is to enable us to understand the present by providing an authentic perspective on the past. Whatever may have been our motives in the past, and no doubt many of them were laudable, in describing India as spiritually superior, we must recognise the fact, that this interpretation has not assisted us in our present problems, and probably needs to be re-examined.

Let me now turn to our interpretation of the ancient period and its effect on national integration today. I referred earlier to the three main aspects of integration today, religious, political and regional. The first aspect, that of religious integration is deeply connected with a basic problem of Indian history: periodisation, and what do we mean by 'the ancient period'. Periodisation in Indian history should have attracted much more discussion than has taken place so far. The general practice is to divide Indian history into the Ancient period, from c. 1000 B.C. upto the coming of the Muslims in the north; the Medieval period, from c. A.D. 1000 to the arrival of the British; and the remaining period as the Modern. In some histories, the ancient period ends with the post-Harsha epoch and then we have a reference to the Hindu Medieval period. Are these divisions historically valid, apart from the fact that they are not conducive to national integration? What do we mean by the Hindu period? Presumably that this was a period of Indian history when the main achievements were inspired by the Hindu religion or the Hindu view of life. Yet many of the more significant aspects of this period did not derive from Hindu inspiration primarily, such as Indo-Aryan culture, the reign of Asoka, the period of Kushana domination, and the socio-economic pattern in Satavahana times. It is indeed fortunate in a sense that there is not a sizable body of Buddhists in India today, else we would no doubt have to introduce a Buddhist period as well.

How did this type of periodisation come about? Perhaps the earliest direction was given in Lassen's interpretation. As has been suggested elsewhere he applied the Hegelian system to Indian history and posed Hinduism as thesis, Islam as the antithesis and Christian Britain as the synthesis. Other historians such as Vincent Smith were influenced by this division. The political publicity to the two nation theory affected the historians as well, who (perhaps unconsciously) emphasised an artificial division of periods based on a supposed impact of religious ideas.

If we have to work within the framework of periods, then the basis should not be one of religion and race, but rather, socio-economic conditions, keeping in view the changes in society. This analysis can be considerably assisted by the use of new types of source material. Too much reliance on texts, which are largely of a religious nature, gives undue emphasis to the religious basis. The use of evidence from other disciplines related to history, such as archaeology, anthropology and sociology can provide a counter balance. Because the history of the Indian subcontinent covers such a vast geographical region, the problem of using chronological periods with sharp definition, is that there are regional variations in socio-economic development. If the Ancient Period is to end in the post-Harsha epoch, then the changes which usher in the Medieval period should be uniform throughout India. Yet the social and economic background of the Guptas and Pallavas is very different, and the two cannot be fitted into one chronological framework.

Chinese historians whose problems are in many ways similar to ours, have not shown an eagerness to rush into a three-fold division. They maintain a dynastic system of chronology. This may be somewhat cumbersome but at least it avoids making religion a basis for chronology ; although the Chinese could quite easily have a Confucian, a Buddhist and a Mongol period. It may be better for us too to work on a dynastic basis until such time as sufficient material is available for us to divide Indian history on the basis of social, economic and intellectual change.

Perhaps one of the subconscious reasons why the ancient period came to be regarded as the Hindu period, was because the majority of the rulers during this period bore Hindu names. Similarly the majority of the rulers during the Medieval Period bore Muslim names. This brings me to the next aspect of national integration, political integration which concerns the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. In our histories we are mainly interested in the life and death of kings, since official documents contain more material on the rulers. This tends to create a sharp distinction between the rulers and the subjects, and the latter come in for consideration only when they have a bearing on the former. Those in political control change frequently, but the continuity of a culture, the patterns of thought and behaviour are more lasting and these need to be studied. Changes in social institutions and in the economy of a region are more important than changes in dynasties. Where these have been studied, they have provided interesting evidence as in the case of the sociological analyses of the centuries before Christ, where Buddhist sources have been used. A comparison of these with economic analyses on the evidence of the excavation of urban sites, etc., would provide invaluable material for the reconstruction of the history of this period in terms of changes in the pattern of living and thinking. Of the results of work done on social history, some of it was written unfortunately at a time, when we were attempting to prove either that India had the same institutions as Greece, or that India was far in advance of the western world. For example, our insistence that India was not acquainted with the institution of slavery is a remarkable case in point; and when eventually this view was modified, we continued to insist that Indian slavery was more humane than Greek slavery. We should turn our attention to trying to discover the characteristics of Indian institutions, without being so anxious about precedents in other parts of the world.

In an effort to pose an integrated history of the sub-continent, there has been a tendency to fit all history into the pattern dictated by the centre. The ancient history of India has tended to be seen from the viewpoint of the Central Ganges Valley and developments in other parts of the country accordingly adjusted to it. The most serious damage has consequently been that the north Indian pattern of history has been assumed as the most significant, to the neglect, until recently, of Deccan and South Indian history. (The works of Yazdani and Nilakantha Shastri are trying to put this right). The Satavahana period is quietly squeezed in between the Mauryas and the Indo-Greeks and Kushanas, overlooking the fact that in terms of the economic opening up of the sub-continent in commercial activity, this was the most crucial time: or else the popular assumption that India declined rapidly after the Gupta period, not remembering that for southern India this was the period of greatest expression and expansion, and that Chola culture was as much a golden age as Gupta culture.

Inevitably attempts were made to counter this tendency by the writing of regional histories in which the contribution of each region was sometimes given exaggerated importance. The most striking example of this being the question of Indian influence in South East Asia. Earlier historians having stated that the culture of South East Asia stemmed from Gupta culture in India, a historian from Bengal set out to prove that in fact this cultural impact came largely from Bengal: which theory was countered by a South Indian historian who wished to suggest that Tamil-nad was in fact the motherland of South East Asia. (It now remains for a Gujarati historian to prove that the ports of Saurashtra and the West Coast were first in the field in influencing the culture of Camboja, Champa and Srivijaya). And at the same time, hardly any of our historians have taken the trouble to study intensively and work on the pre-Indian period of South East Asian culture so as to equip themselves authoritatively when making judgement on the culture concerned.

Regional histories have to be written if an intensive study of Indian history from many points of view is to be carried out. The purpose of such histories should be to provide local patterns and information, for which more evidence may exist in one region than in another. The attempt should not be to exaggerate the importance of one region as against another. Regional histories should be intensive furrowings and not window displays. Clearly there is a risk in encouraging regional histories as these may lead to regional separatism. But unity cannot be enforced from above, and it will never exist as a reality unless it is felt by the various groups which constitute the whole. Separatism can be avoided if the purpose of the regional history is a double one: firstly, to provide a picture of the continuity of the region, and secondly and simultaneously, to link the facets of this continuity with the overall cultural tradition.

The time has now come for us to forget our complexes and do some soul-searching. Historians are not infallible and superhuman. We are influenced by the same emotions as the rest of the society in which we live. No historical writing is ever completely objective and objectivity is relative anyway. But historical training should at least be able to caution the historian, into preventing him not only from participating in popular prejudices, but also leading him to draw attention to what may be historically fallacious. Only then can the historian claim that he is attempting to represent man in his actuality.

(ii) *Medieval Period*

DR. IRFAN M. HABIB

It is perhaps safe to say that there is no period of Indian history from the study of which, communal ideology in our country has drawn so much nourishment as the medieval period. From the introduction of Islam is dated, in the view of many, the permanent division of the people of our country into two camps, ever in conflict with each other.

It will admittedly be too simple to regard this separatist view as entirely of modern growth. In medieval times there were a large number of chroniclers and other writers who justified every act of aggrandisement or misdeed on the part of the ruling class, in the name of religion. It is true that there were also others, men like Amir Khusrau and Abu-l Fazl, who were swayed with a different sentiment. Their work was great and enduring; but lesser men, like Barani and Badauni, have left a legacy from the middle ages which has only too readily been seized by whole schools of modern historians.

Among these we have, first, the line of imperialistic British historians. They turned to the history of India preceding the British conquest with the avowed purpose of showing that all governments previous to the British had been despotic, intolerant and monstrously cruel, and that the Indian people, ever divided, were fit only to be conquered and should be grateful that their last conquerors were so just and merciful. This attitude lent itself to a peculiar interpretation of medieval Indian history. It was assumed that the 'Muhammadans' were the conquerors and rulers of India in the same sense as the British had been. Thus it was often stressed that like the British they too had, after all "come from a cool climate" (V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1918, p. 259). But, unlike the British, during and after their conquest, the Muslims (lacking the Christian quality of mercy) frightfully ill-treated the subjugated Hindus. Elliot, the most outstanding of British historians of the medieval period, in his Original Preface (1849) to his monumental *History of India as told by its own Historians* spoke of "the few glimpses we have, even among the extracts of this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship and ablutions, of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, (and) of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them". In this respect he considerably improved upon the work of the medieval chroniclers for he regretted that he had to take the trouble of drawing this dismal picture "from out of the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who sympathise with no virtues and abhor no vices". His purpose, as he confessed frankly, was to make "our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages" of British rule, and to compel the "bombastic Babus" to cease ranting about patriotism and hold their peace: In fact, to practice the good old maxim, "Divide and Rule".

The interpretation of medieval Indian history presented by the imperialistic school of British historians led inevitably to the formation of two schools of Indian historians, the Muslim and the Hindu communal schools. Both arose as apologists against the British historians, but apologists who accepted the main premises of the British school, arguing only that their respective community was not responsible for any misdeed, and all the blame rested solely upon the shoulders of the other community.

Both these schools had early origins. Shibli, among the Muslims, and Tilak, among the Hindus, may be said to have played a considerable part in their formation. By now, both the schools are in full maturity and display almost a rigid framework to the construction of which many hands have contributed.

In this short space I cannot call attention to all the relevant writings, but I will perhaps be forgiven for suggesting that the main lines of interpretation of both the schools will be found in an authoritative form in two recent publications from each side of our partitioned country.

There is a complete statement of the Muslim interpretation in Prof. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi's Introduction to *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, 1957, a semi-official publication of the Pakistan

Government. Of the opposite interpretation there is a longer, but less complete (since the series is continuing) statement in the editorial portions of *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Vol. V, 1957, but specially Vol. VI, 1960, prepared under the general supervision of Shri K. M. Munshi and edited by Prof. R. C. Majumdar. The publication of Vol. VI was assisted by a liberal loan of Rs. 150,000 from the Government of India.

In reading these two works from the pens of scholars of undoubted eminence two points emerge at once. First, that they are elaborations of the same basic view put forward by the British historians. Secondly, despite their obvious hostility to each other, the frameworks of interpretations of both the schools coincide on almost all essential points.

Thus Prof. Majumdar is one with Prof. Qureshi in declaring that "the democratic ideas of the Muslims, leading to a wonderful equality among the brothers-in-faith, offered a strange contrast to the caste system and un-touchability of the Hindus." (*HCIP,* VI, 624; cf. *HFM,* I, 14). This handsome tribute to the Muslim community has really its subtle side. For unless the Muslims are supposed to form a community of equals we cannot be led to the second step in the common argument; namely, that all Muslims, sharing equally their power, were the rulers and Hindus the subjects. Prof. Qureshi calls the Delhi Sultanate a "Muslim Empire", a state which the "Muslim community regarded as its own" (HFM, I, 12, 21); Prof. R. C. Majumdar dismisses as "absurd" the notion that "the Hindus were not at all a subject race during Muslim rule" (HCIP, VI, xxiv). (Any suggestion that the vast majority of Hindus as well as of Muslims formed the "subject race", and an infinitesimal minority of Muslims and Hindus, the rulers, would apparently be an unpardonable heresy).

Both schools continue to agree when they view the cultural impact of Islam in India. They deny that there could have been, or was, a common-ground of any extent between the Hindus and Muslims. Prof. Majumdar emphasises the difference between the two as much as Prof. Qureshi, even exclaiming that there was "no sign that the twain shall ever meet" (*HCIP,* VI, 617, 636; *HFM,* I, 13ff.). It is, therefore, no accident that both the scholars tend to have the same view of the Bhakti Movement. Prof. Qureshi reads it as a movement developed by Hinduism (by a "sub-conscious reflex action") to provide a "complete answer" to Islam and so prevent conversion (*HFM,* I, 1722). Prof. Majumdar, after examining other possible sources of the Bhakti movement, also finally commends the view that "the presence of such a strong proselytising religion as Islam was a serious challenge to Hinduism, which inspired the religious men of India also to seek more earnestly for the truths of their own faith". (*HCIP,* VI, 554).

This attitude towards the 16th century movements leads both scholars to view with some hostility that aspect of this movement which does not fit in with Orthodox Hinduism represented notably by Kabir and like minded thinkers. To Prof. Qureshi this school "by accepting its (Islam's) doctrine, but not its authority" was always "more dangerous" —to Islam, presumably—than any direct opposition, "because it is instinctive, subtle and deep, but as efficacious in its results as the silent descending growth of root columns from the ever spreading branches of an old banyan tree" (*HFM*, I, 17,22). If Prof. Majumdar is not so forthright, he is suggestive enough. When he argues that important Hindu movements could not originate in territories controlled by Muslim sovereigns, he remembers only Chaitanya and forgets Kabir, Tulsi Das, Nanak and others altogether (*HCIP*, VI, p. xxxii). This is after all understandable, for Dr. Majumdar identifies Hinduism with Brahmanism, declaring that "temples and monasteries" and Brahmans were its chief sources (*HCIP*, VI, xxxi)—and what place could a lowly weaver like Kabir have in his scheme of Hinduism? When Kabir died, it is said, both Hindus and Muslims laid claim to his body as their own. Now, apparently, he is to be rejected by both.

The Mughal Empire provides another subject on which basically the views of both schools coincide. Dr. Qureshi views the entire political history of the Mughal Empire as a struggle between Islamic Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy (combining with the Hindus) for mastery of the Empire, the struggle culminating in Aurangzeb, who was "the symbol of the victory of the orthodoxy" (*HFM*, I, 20-27, 33-34). On this we do not yet have the benefit of Prof. Majumdar, but let us hear Prof. A. L. Srivastava on the subject: "While the earlier medieval period of our history known as the Sultanate period is the period of foreign domination, the Mughal age from the time of Akbar is an age of struggle between Indian nationalism and the reactionary attempt at the restoration of Islamic supremacy in the land..... It is idle to speculate as to what course Indian history would have followed, if Aurangzeb had not appeared on the scene...." (Preface to the *Mughal Empire*. 1957, p.i).

Once Aurangzeb is recognised as the author of the great Muslim Restoration, it becomes obvious that all revolts against him must be regarded as Hindu Revolts. Sir Jadunath Sarkar had spoken of these revolts as part of Hindu Reaction, and the spokesmen of both the communal schools hasten to agree with him: Dr. Qureshi speaks of "the Hindu rebellions headed by the Rajputs and the Marathas" (*HFM*, I, 22), and Prof. Srivastava follows suit (341ff.).

It is thus clear that in as much as the historians of both the communal schools have an essentially identical interpretation of medieval history, they speak the same language. The drama is the same; only the characters, with whom each of them identifies itself, are different. It only remains for one side to paint the other community in the blackest colours. On the one side, we find emphasis on the superstition, caste, untouchability and other vices prevalent among the Hindus (*HFM*, I, 13-14); on the other, in one Section called "Facts of History" we get facts dealing solely with murder and rapine committed by the Muslims, all presented in a way which is wholly inflammatory. (*HCIP*, VI, 627-36). Besides making the other community the villain in everything, there is the worship of select heroes, such as Mahmud of Ghazni and Aurangzeb, among the Muslims; and Maharana Pratap and Shivaji, among the Hindus. Eulogies heaped on them become the test of how far any scholar is loyal to a particular communal school. The slightest criticism of any of their actions arouses the bitterest indignation; and partisans of both schools have conducted a happy warfare in preparing indictments against, and apologies for, those who are villains or heroes to them. As a result obscure actions and events become suddenly important and the focus of heat and largely ignorant controversy.

Increasing concern is being felt in our country as to the impact of this kind of writing on large sections of our people. When from school to the highest classes in our Universities our youth is fed on such tales of ancient wrongs, silently calling for revenge, it is not surprising that pogroms against the minority can still take place in our country. It is natural, therefore, that our people should feel concerned about the way "history" is being used to sow dissension and division in our country.

To objections of this kind the answer comes from a high academic pedestal. It is certainly no business of the historian, we are told, to bow before "the exigencies of the political complications". For "History is no respecter of persons or communities", and the "fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the sister community" is hardly any reason why history should be "re-written". (*HCIP*, VI, pp. xxix-xxx).

In view of these declarations, it needs still more strongly to be emphasised that the chief and valid objection to communal history-writing is not that it is inexpedient, but that it is inaccurate, unhistorical and false. During the last fifty years or so considerable work has been done on the basis of original sources, which brings out the untenability of every significant position taken by either of the communal schools. This work has not been done by any single "school", but by numerous historians and research workers, who went to their sources, to shed light on specific subjects. In their monographs and articles they have brought out new aspects of history; they have called attention to facts, tendencies and institutions which have had no place in the communal scheme of history; and above all, they have shown that the division of the ruler and the ruled in India did not coincide with the division into Muslims and Hindus. Some of these historians wrote under nationalist inspiration—for which none may need feel ashamed. Others had a liberal outlook, and others still were merely after facts with no pretensions to interpretation. The roll includes foreigners too, like Moreland, who started off as a good imperialist and ended up as a pioneer in the unravelling of medieval social and economic history; or like Wilfred C. Smith, in his earlier phase, who was a Canadian clergyman. Naturally most of such historians disagree with each other on a host of points which they consider important; and they have not built up a rigid framework to which all of them subscribe. Yet they have laid the foundations of objective historical writing in India.

All the works of these scholars cannot be listed here. But it may be useful to refer to such of the leading works as have laid open to question the cherished assumptions of the communal scholars.

The assumption that all Muslims formed one brotherhood and shared in the conquests was attacked by Prof. Mohammad Habib in his *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin,* 1925, in which he also reduced Mahmud to historical proportions. Since then he has carried on an analysis of the Turkish conquests in different articles ending with the Introduction to the Aligarh reprint of Vol. II of Elliot and Dowson, 1953. Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah in his *Foundations of Turkish Rule in India,* similarly emphasised the narrow class-basis of the Indo-Turkish ruling class of the 13th century. The question whether the Khalji and Tughluq governments were "Muslim" and motivated in their principal actions by religious objectives, was examined by Dr. R. P. Tripathi in *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* and also by W. H. Moreland in his *Agrarian System of Moslem India.* Both of them reached the conclusion that there were for these rulers many other considerations far stronger than, and contradictory to, religious zeal. In his detailed examination of the administrative apparatus, Dr. Tripathi failed to discover any participation or *role* of the "Muslim community" in the business of government.

Among works which have had a tremendous influence over a whole generation must be counted Dr. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture.* In this he showed that, contrary to assumptions that "the twain never meet", a commingling was inevitable, that it did take place, and that it marked a definite stage in the development of Indian culture. Politically, the new governments, with their centralised administrations, created "a sense of larger allegiance" than mere tribal or clan loyalties, and thus took India further towards its goal of unity. (p. 141). In religious thought, Islamic influences led to a whole series of new movements culminating in the Bhakti movements of the 15th-16th centuries. Their teachers like Kabir and Nanak did not wish to defend Islam from Hinduism, because to them they were both repugnant as sectarian faiths. They tried to reconcile the higher traditions of the two faiths, conceiving of a larger caste-less humanity and dreaming of "a religion of the universal path", "which both could tread together".

In his later chapters Dr. Tara Chand showed how Indian art developed, improved and evolved new forms through an acceptance and absorption of Saracenic and Persian influences. In another important work, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (1206-1556), Dr. K. M. Ashraf examined the ways in which the common people of the two faiths came together and influenced each other's life and customs.

For the Mughal period the work done is far more extensive. In the first place, it has tended to show that there were other aspects of equal or greater importance than religious issues. Moreland's works (*India at the Death of Akbar, Akbar to Aurangzeb,* and *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*) were concerned with crucial aspects of social and economic history. Dr. Ibn Hasan in *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* and Dr. P. Saran in his *Provincial Government of the Mughals* studied the administrative history of the Mughal Empire and found hardly any 'theocratic' influences in Mughal administration. A satisfactory study of Akbar and his age is still awaited, but Dr. Baini Prasad in his excellent biography of Jahangir analysed a number of secular elements which formed the basis of Mughal imperial policy in his time.

With regard to the reign of Aurangzeb, the field is still dominated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar's great *History of Aurangzeb* in five volumes, completed over a long period of years. If Sir Jadunath's judgment is sometimes prejudiced, it is at least one which hits at both sides. Neither those who make Aurangzeb or Shivaji their pet hero have reason to be pleased with him. It is true that Sir Jadunath often made sweeping generalisations; but he never consciously suppressed facts; and he often himself supplies information which contradicts his own interpretation. Thus Wilfred Smith was enabled to question Sarkar's characterisation of the Jat and Satnami revolts as Hindu revolts, and to show that they were essentially lower class uprisings, largely on the basis of Sarkar's own evidence (*Islamic Culture*, XX, i, 21-40). The religious policy of Aurangzeb is, however, still in need of competent study.

No one can pretend that the last word has been said on all important questions relating to the extent of religious impulses and the nature of the relations between the two communities. There remain gaps requiring careful examination, such as the composition of the medieval ruling classes and the Muslim religious and theological trends. But whatever gaps or deficiencies that still remain, enough has been brought out by the combined effort of the vast majority of serious historians to reject the claims of communal schools to the possession of the sole truth about the Middle Ages.

It appears then the need of the hour is to sum up the work that has been done which lies scattered in various monographs and articles and to make it available to the public. It may be hoped that the *History of the Indian People,* projected by this Congress, will meet this need, and that a broader and more objective understanding of our medieval history will be communicated through it to our people. In view of the importance which general histories have for the lay reader and for the student, it is essential that our leading historians should not consider it beneath themselves to write shorter text books. Dr. Tara Chand's *Short History of the Indian People* was a very important contribution. Our Prime Minister's *Discovery of India* should also be mentioned in this connexion. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the battle of minds will ultimately be won at the level of schools and colleges, and for that the need of such shorter books is very great.

I have mainly concentrated on communalism, which is the main trend opposing National integration encountered in the study of medieval Indian history. There do exist, however, trends towards regionalism as well. When one historian, commended by the *Times* for his urbanity, can speak of "Maratha Vultures", and another of equal or greater eminence, can refer to the Assamese people as "croaking Ahom frogs", the presence of regional prejudice can hardly be the subject of argument. Great care is specially needed in lauding certain important local figures lest we may be creating cults of local "national heroes" fighting against men from other regions. The tendency, moreover, to postulate the existence of "nations" or "nationalities" within India during the 17th and 18th centuries, simply because some regional languages and literatures developed in the late Middle Ages, is seductive but must be resisted. It must be understood that before we can start talking of them, we must establish the existence of economic conditions essential to the growth of nations. There is therefore need for careful regional studies specially in the fields of social and economic history. Southern India may be said to be ahead of the rest of the country in such studies which were initiated by the *Economic History of South India* by Prof. Appadorai. But in other parts too, beginnings have been made. Dr. T. Raychaudhuri, for example, has written an excellent study of *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir,* and Commissariat has written two valuable volumes on the history of Gujarat during the Middle Ages.

After what I have said, it would be clear that at least in my humble opinion there are good grounds for optimism for the future of objective historical writing in India, which by its very nature is bound to lead to a greater understanding among the various sections of our people. We, younger students of history, draw inspiration from the work of scholars who have cleared the path for us and to whom we are so greatly indebted for insight and knowledge. It is our duty not only to cherish, but also to enlarge, what we have received from them, and thus to serve the cause of national unity, which we all hold dear.

(iii) *Modern Period*

DR. PARTHA SARATHI GUPTA

The theme of the symposium is formidable, and the time limited. I have been asked to talk on the contribution of Indian historians of the Modern Period to the process of National Integration, with reference to past, present, and future research, and to suggest how in future historians may contribute to the process, without violating principles of scholarship. In the short time available, it would not be possible to do justice to individual historians, and so I shall refrain from unloading a bibliography on you. Even if I tried, I doubt if I could cover the modern period, as well as the medieval period has just been treated by Dr. Irfan Habib.

I shall concentrate on suggesting new methods of historical writing, which might enrich our knowledge of modern Indian political history and put into their proper perspective all manifestations of national disunity. National integration is a problem of current politics. Our leaders are worried as to whether the political and constitutional unity of India can withstand the conflicts generated by communal and linguistic and caste-minded prejudices. The historian can present lessons from history to suggest solutions to this problem, *not* by ignoring the very real evidence of diverse elements in our national life, but by examining whether in modern Indian history such diversities would necessarily manifest themselves in activities of a *politically* disruptive nature.

We need not concern ourselves with those historians who hope to contribute to national integration by outline accounts of Modern India which stress only those facts which are suggestive of the political and cultural unity of India, and which ignore the rest. Such books may have their uses as school textbooks, and perhaps even as pass course textbooks for B.A. students—they might inculcate a few right ideas to those who would never read history again. (Although, if the experience in real life for these students is the sight of caste and linguistic rivalries around them, I doubt if such textbooks would cut much ice with them).

But these books add little to the field of scholarship. Yet I feel that there are ways of combining scholarly research and academic integrity with the ideal of national integration if one is prepared to take some pains and start a multi-dimensional research. I am going to state a few hypotheses for the period after 1858. By 1858 the process of political unification of the country under an alien power was more or less complete, and in less than a generation demands for self-government were being made on an all-India basis. And yet it was also in course of the century after 1858 that separatist sentiments were also voiced in Indian politics.

The scholarly way to tackle this period in order to see if the idea of national integration could be sustained would be to ask whether separatist political movements were a necessary function of the diversities in Indian life, and then to survey the political history of modern India (especially the national movement) at the local level. If we study only the central records of the big political parties, especially the Congress, we shall not go very far towards diagnosing the root causes of separatist tendencies. By the very nature of our source material one would be asking questions that would make the national movement look like a series of bargains between the British Government, the National Congress, and the leaders of the Communal and sectional parties. These bargains no doubt did take place, but they happened against the background of a complex and volatile and growing mass-movement within which all sorts of elements were most probably mixed: political idealism, economic discontent, and communal prejudice.

If we ignore this other dimension to modern Indian history, the story of India's struggle for independence would become a relatively simple narrative of known facts, with some unexplained problems concerning the strength and success of the communal forces in this country. Often the best-laid plans of the Nationalist leaders for an effective constitutional struggle were frustrated by outbursts of communal riots, which gave the government splendid excuses to suspend negotiations. Even an excellent study like Dr. S. Gopal's *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin*, 1926-1931 (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1957), which surveys carefully the course of negotiations between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders, pays insufficient attention towards explaining either the "forty communal riots" in the first twelve months of Irwin's viceroyalty (*loc. cit.*, p. 16), or the persistence of local nationalist leaders in unconstitutional agitations even after the release of Gandhiji from Yervada jail and the resumption of negotiations.

We have to ask ourselves whether there were any deeper socio-economic causes which explain the sporadic recurrence of mob violence at awkward moments for the nationalist movement. More specifically, we have to ask why the communal leaders were so easily able to whip up mob violence. Again, we notice that as the franchise gradually widened in course of the 25 years after the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Muslim League, in Bengal at least, was able to muster strong and enduring electoral support, which persisted even after that party began to advocate the two-nation theory. To attribute it only to the institutional factor of the division of the electorate into communal sections is inadequate, for why were not the nationalist Muslim leaders able to defeat Muslim League candidates?

Even without any further reference to historical details, I hope it would be clear why I consider that more studies should be made of local evidence, so that we can evaluate as precisely as possible the forces behind all social unrest taking the shape of linguistic and communal riots, and all political developments suggesitve of strong communal and linguistic loyalties on the part of the mass of the people in different parts of the country. We have to find out whether such political loyalty and such social frenzy were necessary functions of linguistic and communal diversities. Or, whether there were other variables in the economic history of the period which were the crucial factors.

The type of research in quest of these other variable factors may be classified broadly into two categories, structural and cyclical, and within the latter category we can make a further classification between long waves in economic life and short-term trade cycles.

Structural analysis would survey the relationships among social groups from many angles—especially status, as indicated by caste, title, occupation, and level of income. The historian should use this data to see what sources of tension existed among different groups : whether certain communal and linguistic minorities felt themselves to be a traditionally privileged group and determined to defend this status at all costs, or whether there was in existence a group which was being discriminated against and resented this.

To the above analysis the study of cyclical movement would add the dimension of time. We may find that structural imbalances in the social system were being aggravated by longterm demographic movements leading to an increased pressure of population on resources in certain areas in particular, or by prolonged and persistent inflationary pressure. If these areas coincide with areas which were known to be centres of support to the separatist communal forces then it would argue in favour of the theory that the mere existence of different communities would not have necessarily led to a widespread desire for local or sectional independence.

Apart from such studies of secular trends, short-run fluctuations in the prices of essential commodities must be studied to see if they can help to explain the incidence and frequency of communal riots. The French historian Labrousse and his able team of pupils have revolutionised our knowledge of all political movements in France from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onward, by their masterly correlation of economic fluctuations and social and political risings and riots. If a similar survey could be made of modern Indian history, we might find that a great deal of the political frenzy generated by communal and linguistic differences was due to the desire on the part of the rioting masses to find scapegoats on whom to fasten the responsibility for their economic hardships at a time of rising prices.

Such research into the story of price movements and the incidence of riots would have to be supplemented by research into election statistics. In modern Britain a group of able scholars have been trying to detect the forces behind the switches in the loyalties of the electorate in Britain since the Reform Act of 1832 by analysing the exact structure of each party's constituency organisation and the number of votes polled, and we have been honoured by the presence of one of them at this Congress (Dr. Kitson-Clark). If we could make a similar survey of each constituency in this country, analyse its social composition, its economic fortunes and the extent of linguistic and communal heterogeneity within it, we might be able to say how far the success of a disruptive political ideology in those areas was inevitable, or how far that emerged as the product of prolonged economic and social hardships.

In these brief remarks I have in effect made a plea for a multi-dimensional and meticulous analysis of our recent political history, especially at the local level and covering a sufficiently long period of time. Such research, when completed, might show that the recent recrudescence of communal and linguistic differences may be deeprooted, but these outbursts are conditioned by socio-economic factors. The frenzy of separatist agitation does not have to follow from the diversities that do exist in Indian life. Given a certain different pattern of economic development the frenzy might die down.

All these, however, are suggestive hypotheses, which I hope fellow research workers will find stimulating. Whether research along the lines outlined above would in fact lead to conclusions as satisfactory from an integrationist point of view as the one I have just mentioned remains to be seen. If it does not, we will have to state that equally plainly, for above all our first loyalty must be to the maintenance of academic integrity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION
CONSTITUTION

(As last amended at the Ahmedabad Session, December, 1954)

NAME AND OBJECTS

1. The name of the Association shall be the Indian History Congress Association.

2. The objects of the Association shall be:
   (a) Promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Indian History;
   (b) Holding of Congresses and publishing of the Proceedings, Bulletins, Memoirs, Journals and other works;
   (c) Co-operation with other organizations in India and abroad holding similar objects;
   (d) Encouragement to the formation of State organizations affiliated to the central body;
   (e) The securing, management and disposal of funds, property and endowments for the purposes stated above;
   (f) Performance of all other acts conducive to the fulfilment of the objects of the Association.

MEMBERSHIP

3. The membership of the Association shall be open to all persons, interested in the study of Indian History, who accept the objects of the Association and are not below 21 years of age.

4. Members shall be of two kinds: Ordinary Members, and Life Members. Ordinary Members shall pay a fee of Rs. 15/- per annum. Members paying Rs. 250/- shall become Life Members of the Association. Academic Institutions and learned bodies may be recognised by the Executive Committee as Institutional Members on payment of an Annual Subscription of Rs. 15/- only. Every Institutional Member shall be entitled to send one Delegate to the Annual Session of the Congress and such Delegate shall enjoy the privileges of an Ordinary Member.

5. Ordinary Members and Life Members shall be entitled to submit papers, take part in the discussion and be eligible for various offices of the Association. Every Member shall be entitled to receive free of charge a copy of the Abstracts of Papers and the Proceedings of the Congress.

6. Persons contributing Rs. 500/- and more shall be deemed Patrons of the Association and shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership.

MEETINGS

7 . The Meetings of the Association will be of two kinds:
   (a) Academic Conferences and Congresses.
   (b) Business Meetings of the Association.

(A) The Congress will be the academic gathering of the Association and will be divided into Sections, each with a President presiding over it. The Sections shall be the following:
   (1) Ancient Indian History upto 1200 A.D. for Northern India and 1300 A.D. for Southern India.
   (2) Medieval Indian History upto 1707 A.D.
   (3) Modern Indian History from 1707 A.D.

(4) Special Section to be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

(B) (i) Only such Members of the Association as have been Members of the Association for three years including the year of the Session in which the election is being held, and have paid up their membership fees on or before 1st December, will be eligible for holding office and participating in the Business Meetings of the Association.

(ii) The following business shall be transacted at the Business Meeting of the Association held along with the Session of the Congress of the Association.

(a) adoption of Resolutions on matters of general policy,
(b) consideration of the Budget, Report, Business Rules etc.
and (c) election of Members to serve on the Executive Committee.

8. The quorum for the Business Meeting of the Association shall be 20.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

9. There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following office-bearers:

(a) a President,
(b) two Vice-Presidents,
(c) a Secretary,
(d) a Joint Secretary,
(e) a Treasurer, and
(f) fourteen other members.

No member shall hold the same office or remain a Member of the Executive Committee for more than three consecutive Sessions.

10. The Executive Committee shall have the following duties:—

(a) considering Resolutions proposed for the Business Meeting;
(b) giving effect to the Resolutions of the Association;
(c) framing the rules of business and placing them before the Business Meeting of the Association for confirmation;
(d) management and control of all funds raised for and in the name of the Association;
(e) consideration of the Budget prepared by the Treasurer, in consultation with the Secretary, and laying it before the Business Meeting of the Association;
(f) sanctioning of expenditure;
(g) consideration of the Report prepared by the Secretary and laying it before the Business Meeting of the Association;
(h) the taking of all measures relating to the realisation of the objects of the Association; and
(i) appointment of an Auditor or Auditors for auditing the accounts of the Association.

11. The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be seven. During the interval between two Sessions of the Congress the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by a 3/5 majority of votes (12 out of 20).

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

12. (i) The Office-bearers 9 (b) to 9 (e) and the Sectional Presidents shall be elected at the meetings of the Executive Committee held at the Session of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till the election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.

(ii) Fourteen other members of the Executive Committee [9 (f)] shall be elected by the Association at its business meeting.

(iii) All elections shall be by ballot.

13. In case any elected Office-bearer or Member of the Executive Committee dies or resigns or is otherwise unable to perform his duties, his post shall be filled up by the Executive Committee and the incumbent shall function till the next general election.

PRESIDENT

14. (i) The President for the next session shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the Session till the next President takes over charge.

(ii) The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall normally be the Convenor of the Executive Committee. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observance of all Rules, Regulations and Bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the Resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote.

VICE-PRESIDENT

15. One of the Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the President or the Executive Committee to act for the President, whenever necessary, and shall perform such other functions as are assigned to him by the President.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

16. The Sectional President shall preside over the Section of the Congress assigned to him, shall scrutinise papers of his Section and shall edit them for publication. He shall decide whether a paper is to be read or published in extenso or in summary or is to be rejected.

SECRETARY

17. The duties of the Secretary shall be:

(a) to conduct all correspondence of the Association;
(b) to make arrangements for the Meeting of the Annual Congress in collaboration with the Local Secretary;
(c) to frame the agenda of the Meetings of the Association and the Executive Committee, and to issue notices for the meetings thereof;
(d) to keep the Minutes of the Association and the Executive Committee,
(e) to conduct all Elections;
(f) to keep charge of the office, books and registers of the Association except accounts books; and
(g) to keep the register of the members up to date.

JOINT SECRETARY

18. The Joint Secretary shall assist the Secretary in the performance of his duties and in lieu of him when he is unable to function.

LOCAL SECRETARY

19. The Local Secretary and the Reception Committee, if any, shall be nominated by the Institution inviting the next Session of the Congress.

20. The Local Secretary shall, in consultation with the Secretary, make all necessary arrangements for the Session of the Congress and for the accommodation of Members attending the Session, the programme of Meetings and other connected functions.

TREASURER

21. The Treasurer shall be the financial officer of the Association and shall keep charge of all accounts of the income and expenditure of the Association. He shall operate all Bank accounts standing in the name of the Association. He shall prepare the Annual Budget in collaboration with the Secretary and place the accounts and the Budget before the Executive Committee. The Budget shall be circulated among the Members at least two weeks before the Business Meeting.

AMENDMENT OF RULES

22. The Rules of the Association may be amended in the following manner:

(a) proposals for additions to or alternation in the Constitution shall be addressed to the Secretary two months before the meeting of the next Congress;

(b) such amendments shall be circulated among the Members of the Executive Committee by the Secretary at least one month before the Session of the Congress;

(c) the Executive Committee shall consider the amendments and make such recommendations to the Association as it may deem desirable and shall place them at the Business Meeting of the Association for final decision.

PAPERS FOR THE CONGRESS

23. All papers intended for reading at a Session of the Congress shall embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts. The papers along with their summaries should reach the Secretary at least two months before the date of the Session. No paper should ordinarily exceed 10 typed foolscap pages. The summary, outlining the main points of discussion or controversy, should not exceed 350 words.

ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS

24. (a) Applications for Membership of the Association shall ordinarily be made to the Secretary and shall be accompanied by the prescribed fee. Each name shall be duly proposed and seconded by existing Members of the Congress.

(b) Clause (a) will apply to the Representatives nominated by the Governments, Universities and other Institutions recognised by the Congress, if they pay the prescribed fee for Membership.

PUBLICATION OF THE TRANSACTIONS

25. The Executive Committee will make necessary arrangements for the publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Congress.

APPENDIX II

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1961

I took over charge of my office in January, 1961. Whenever there is a change of office-bearers, some delay in starting work is unavoidable. Nothing can be done until all the papers and files are transferred. That explains why the Secretariat started functioning a bit late this year. I do hope that the members will appreciate the position and will not grumble that they did not receive circulars and notices earlier than they did.

Another initial difficulty for the Secretariat was that till about the end of September there was great uncertainty about the venue of the twenty-fourth Session. Only one invitation had been received earlier in the year, from the University of Baroda, but it was withdrawn temporarily in June on account of unforeseen and unavoidable reasons. For three months efforts were made to find a venue for the next Session. Finally, the University of Delhi invited us to hold the Session in Delhi. I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the University of Delhi, and in particular Professor Bisheswar Prasad, for the kind invitation. I can only hope that in future we shall not be faced with a similar situation of anxiety and uncertainty about the venue of the annual Session.

In this connection I may point out that the practice of according free hospitality to members (about 400 in number) for the last few years is partly responsible for the shyness of many Universities and State Governments to invite the Indian History Congress. It will be readily appreciated that the financial burden is much too heavy. If smaller Universities are to be given an opportunity to invite the Indian History Congress, the earlier practice of imposing a token charge on the members for meals and accommodation should be revived. I do hope that the members will face the reality of the situation and will agree to it.

The popularity of the Indian History Congress is amply borne out by the steady increase in its membership. At the Gauhati Session, in 1959, the membership stood at 365. At the Aligarh Session, in 1960, it was 455. This year the number has gone up to 519. So far, this is the highest figure in the history of the Indian History Congress, but I have every reason to hope that this record will be broken next year at the Silver Jubilee Session. One happy sign about the strength and vitality of the organisation is that very few who were members before have not renewed their membership this year, while new members have enrolled themselves. Our gains are permanent and are not offset by losses.

Complaints are frequently heard that at the annual Session of the Indian History Congress not much importance is attached to the academic programme and that the conference has been reduced to a social get-together. The complaints have come even from some of the wellwishers of the organisation and hence cannot be brushed aside lightly, although I do not at all agree that we do not attach any importance to academic programme. Anyway, complaints from friends and wellwishers are always useful and set us thinking. To remove the causes of complaints three innovations have been introduced this year in our academic programme:

(i) Reading of Papers:

Papers for each Section have been classified into groups according to subject matter, like Political history, Administrative history, Social history, Economic history, etc. There will be a Commentator for each group of papers, who will go through the papers and comment on them at the Sectional Meeting. The system, as planned, will be like this:

Three or four papers belonging to each group will be first read, or rather the writers will speak briefly on the main points of the papers for 5 to 7 minutes each. There will be no discussion until all the papers of the group have been read. After that, the Commentator of the group will comment on the papers for about 10 minutes. Then the writers will reply, each speaking for about 3 minutes. This may be followed by further discussion by others, if members feel inclined.

In the past there was practically no comment or discussion on any papers, first because the papers were taken up in a haphazard way and not classified into groups according to subject matter, and secondly because no body had read them before. This year the papers of each group (3 to 5 in number) have been sent to the Commentator earlier, so that he may go through them and prepare his comments. The comments and replies will be published in the Proceedings Volume.

(ii) Record of Discussion:

In the past papers were read and later published in the Proceedings Volume. But no record was kept of the discussions on the papers, the comments made, the questions asked and the replies given. It must have been felt that in many cases the discussions are really so important and useful that merely publishing the papers without any note of the discussions that followed is quite pointless. So, from this year it is proposed to have full reports of the discussions at Sectional Meetings, to be later published in the Proceedings Volume, after having been certified by the Sectional Presidents as correct recordings of the transactions at the Sectional Meetings. For each Section three or four young scholars will act as *Rapporteurs*. It is not intended that they should take down verbatim reports. Only the general lines of discussions, comments, questions and replies will be recorded.

(iii) Co-ordination of Research and Courses of Study:

As a part of the academic programme of the 24th Session of the Indian History Congress, a Committee of University Professors and Heads of History Departments, who are members of the Indian History Congress, has been set up to consider the following:

(a) the existing disparity in the standards of different Indian Universities in relation to the Courses of Study in History for B.A. and M.A. Examinations and the requirements for Research Degrees;

(b) the possibilities of Co-ordination of the Courses of Study and Research work in different Universities, and the measures best calculated to achieve that objective;

(c) Representations to be made for that purpose, through the Indian History Congress, to the Union and State Governments, the U.G.C., the Inter-University Board, the Universities and Research Institutions.

The President of the Indian History Congress, or in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, will be the Chairman of the Syllabus and Research Co-ordination Committee. Professor Bisheshwar Prasad of the University of Delhi will act as *Rapporteur*, reporting the deliberations and recommendations of the Committee to the members of the Indian History Congress at the Annual Business Meeting to be held on the 30th December, 1961.

The success of these innovations will depend entirely on the co-operation of the members. From the response received so far, I feel confident of getting that co-operation. This year we did not have sufficient opportunity for timely planning, mainly because the papers came in very late. I do hope that we shall have better luck next year.

As before, summaries of papers have been printed earlier and distributed among members before the Session. For convenience of discussion the papers have been classified according to subject matter, and within each group according to chronology. In this connection I want to emphasise that we must stop the practice of allowing papers handed in at the eleventh hour to be read at the Sectional Meeting. This year papers received till December 1, have been included in the Brochure of Summaries. Papers received from December 2 to December 15 have also been included in the Classified List and will be read at the Sectional Meeting. But papers received after December 15 cannot be entertained at all. Only if time permits, the Sectional Presidents may, at their discretion, allow such papers to be read, after all the papers in the Classified List have been gone through.

Next year we shall be celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Indian History Congress. I am sure, I shall get the co-operation of all members in raising funds for that special occasion. Most of the members belong to Universities and Colleges and they may be expected to induce the authorities of their respective institutions to make a special donation to the Indian History Congress for the Silver Jubilee Session. If we can raise Rs. 5,000/- by special donations, we can chalk out a fitting programme to celebrate the Silver Jubilee Session. The Executive Committee, to be elected for 1962, will no doubt pay attention to it. But I may be permitted here to make one recommendation, that a special Souvenir Volume should be brought out, containing a full history of the Indian History Congress, a complete list of the members from the first to the 25th year, short biographical sketches of the General Presidents and Sectional Presidents, and finally a classified list of all the papers published in the Proceedings Volumes. This will be a fitting way of expressing our gratitude to those illustrious scholars who had founded this organisation and nursed it in its infancy. It will also be a call to the younger generation to emulate the example of their elders and to improve upon the past achievements.

I conclude this Report with sincere thanks to the past office-bearers, specially to Dr. G. M. Moraes and Dr. V. G. Hatalkar, for all they had done for the Indian History Congress. I also thank the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for their generous financial assistance. Finally, I take this opportunity to express my thanks again to the authorities of the University of Delhi and to Professor Bisheshwar Prasad for their kind invitation to hold the 24th Session in Delhi.

Department of History,
University of Calcutta.
December 22, 1961.

S. P. SEN,
Secretary,
Indian History Congress.

APPENDIX III

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1961

My term of office as Treasurer of the Indian History Congress Association commenced on January 1, 1961 and it expires on December 31, 1961. Since the accounts for 1958-1960 had not been audited, I had and chose to start with a nil opening balance. With the annual grant of Rs. 1,000 from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, and membership fees received by November 30, 1961, I opened an account in the name of the Indian History Congress with the United Bank of India Ltd., Deshapriya Park Branch, Calcutta. We have 519 members on the roll, including 56 life members; only one life member was enrolled during the year. The budget estimate for 1961 shows a deficit of Rs. 400.00 but as the number of members has much exceeded our expectation which was 400, I am almost confident that we shall have a surplus. In fact, the number would have exceeded much more had we not stopped enrolment on December 21.

As required by the Resolution of the Executive Committee at Aligarh in December, 1960, I have submitted the budget estimates of the History of India Publication Committee for 1962-63 as presented by its Treasurer Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad. The Aligarh Resolution, however, requires the Publication Committee to adopt the calendar year.

I should like to emphasize one point rather strongly in connection with my work as Treasurer. I have experienced extreme difficulties in deciphering the name and address of the remitter in a large number of cases. The name and address should either be typed or written in block letters. In a considerable number of cases the name and address of the remitter are not mentioned at all in the space provided for this purpose in the M.O. form. A considerable number send cheques without the bank collection charges of Rs. 1.40 nP., causing some loss to the Association. All these inconvenience the Treasurer so much; they are also embarrassing and even irritating.

December 22, 1961

SUKUMAR RAY
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress.

APPENDIX IV

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

DRAFT BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1961 AND 1962.

INCOME

	Revised Estimate for 1961 Rs. nP.	Estimate for 1962 Rs. nP.
Life Membership Fee	250.00	250.00
Ordinary Membership Fee	6,000.00 (400 Members)	6,750.00 (450 Members)
Sale of Proceedings Volumes	375.00 (25 Volumes)	750.00 (50 Volumes)
Interest on Fixed Deposit	125.00	125.00
Donations	1,000.00	5,000.00 (Special Donations for the Silver Jubilee Session)
	Rs. 7,750.00	Rs. 12,875.00

EXPENDITURE

	Revised Estimate for 1961 Rs. nP.	Estimate for 1962 Rs. nP.
Establishment	600.00	900.00
Printing of Proceedings Volume ...	5,500.00	5.000.00
Postage	500.00	750.00
Stationery	250.00	350.00
Printing of Circulars, Forms, Summaries of Papers and the Address of the General President	1,000.00	1,150.00
Bank Commission	50.00	50.00
Audit Charge	50.00	50.00
Miscellaneous	100.00	100.00
Travelling Allowances	100.00	100.00
Souvenir Volume for the Silver Jubilee Session	...	3,500.00
Rs.	8,150.00	Rs. 11,950.00

APPENDIX V(A)

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1962

	Rs. nP.
Office Expenses (Calcutta & Delhi)	3,000.00
Travelling Expenses	4,000.00
Payment to Editors & Contributors	5,000.00
Postage & Stationery	200.00
Miscellaneous	500.00
**Provision for Printing a Third Volume	35,000.00
Total ...	47,700.00

** This may not be necessary when the agreement with Orient Longmans is revised.

Sd/- Bisheshwar Prasad
Treasurer,
History of India Publication Committee.

APPENDIX V(B)

Statement of Accounts of the HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE for the period from 1st April, 1960 to 31st March, 1961.

PAYMENTS	Rs. nP.	RECEIPTS	Rs. nP.
Establishment (Delhi) ...	350.00	By Balance B/Fd. ...	1,06,599.41
Audit Fee	50.00	„ Interest ...	4,156.50
Payment to Contributors	106.87		
Balance	1,12,249.04		
TOTAL ...	1,12,755.91	TOTAL ...	1,12,755.91

DETAILS OF BALANCE C/FS. (ASSETS)

		Rs. nP.
1.	Cash in Hand	2.17
2.	Current Account (State Bank of India) ...	7,906.14
3.	Fixed Deposit (Central Bank)	1,02,000.00
4.	Advances	
	Indian History Congress	6.31
	Delhi Office	124.81
	Calcutta Office	2,209.61
	TOTAL	1,12,249.04

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
History of India Publication Committee.

We have audited the foregoing statement of accounts of the Indian History Congress Association with the books of accounts and vouchers submitted to us and have found the same to be correct subject to the following remarks:—

(1) Our remarks contained in our previous report for the period from 1st April, 1959 to 31st March, 1960 have not so far been clarified and hence they stand as such.

(2) A sum of Rs. 1,644/- has been credited to Interest Account but we have not been offered any satisfactory explanations regarding the details of the interest so credited.

R. KRISHNA & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

APPENDIX—V(C)

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

List of Fixed Deposit Receipts with the Central Bank of India, Delhi.

No.	Amount Rs. nP.
FDL 28791 dated 29.8.61	10,000.00
FDL 28792	10,000.00

FDL 28793	10,000.00
FDL 28794	10,000.00
FDL 28795	10,000.00
FDL 28796	10,000.00
FDL 28797	5,000.00
FDL 28798	1,000.00
FDL 28799	1,000.00
	Rs. 67,000.00

No.	Amount Rs. nP.
FDL 25796 dated 23.3.1961	1,000.00
FDL 25797	1,000.00
FDL 25798	1,000.00
FDL 25799	1,000.00
FDL 25800	1,000.00
FDL 25793	10,000.00
FDL 25794	10,000.00
FDL 25795	10,000.00
	Rs. 35,000.00

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
History of India Publication Committee.

APPENDIX—V(D)

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Statement of Accounts of the HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE for the period from 1st April, 1961 to 26th December, 1961.

PAYMENTS	Rs. nP.	RECEIPTS	Rs. nP.
Establishment (Delhi)	150.00	By Balance B/fd.	1,12,249.04
Payment to Editors	95.12	By Interest	3,570.00
Balance	1,15,573.92		
Total Rs.	1,15,819.04	Total Rs.	1,15,819.04

DETAILS OF BALANCE C/FS. (ASSETS)

Cash in Hand	2.17
With State Bank of India: Current Account	11,231.02
With Central Bank of India: Fixed Deposit Account	1,02,000.00

Advances:

Indian History Congress	6.31
Delhi Office	124.81
Calcutta Office	2,209.61
Total Rs. ...	1,15,573.92

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
History of India Publication Committee.

APPENDIX VI

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1961—DELHI

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association was held in the Tutorial Building (Arts Faculty), University of Delhi on Thursday, the 28th December, 1961 at 8-30 P.M.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi presided.

The following members were present:

MM. D. V. Potdar; Professor K. H. Kamdar; Dr. M. Rama Rao; Dr. V. R. Deoras; Dr. A. D. Pusalkar; Mr. Mohibbul Hasan; Dr. A. C. Banerjee; Dr. P. C. Gupta; Dr. V. G. Hatalkar; Dr. G. M. Moraes; Dr. Sukumar Ray; Prof. S. H. Askari; Dr. S. P. Sen.

1. The Minutes of the last annual meeting of the Executive Committee, held at Aligarh on December 26, 1960 were read and confirmed.

Arising out of item No. 3 of the Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held at Aligarh on December 26, 1960 the following resolutions were passed:

(i) That Messrs. Homi S. Banaji & Company of Bombay be appointed Auditors of the Indian History Congress Association for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

(ii) That Dr. V. G. Hatalkar who was Treasurer of the Indian History Congress Association from 1958 to 1960 be authorised to arrange for the auditing of the accounts of the Indian History Congress Association for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

(iii) That the Treasurer of the History of India Publication Committee be requested to send immediately all books, vouchers, etc., relating to the accounts of the History of India Publication Committee for the years 1958, 1959 and 1960 to Dr. V. G. Hatalkar to facilitate auditing of the accounts of the Indian History Congress Association for the years 1958, 1959 and 1960.

2. The following condolence resolution was moved from the Chair and passed, all standing:

> "This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and sudden demise of Professor N. K. Sidhant, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi".

3. Considered the Annual Report of the Indian History Congress Association for 1961, presented by the Secretary.

Resolved that the Report be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

4. Considered the Treasurer's Report for 1961.

Resolved that the Report be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

5. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar, Treasurer, Indian History Congress for 1960, reported that the accounts for the year 1960 had not been audited.

Resolved that since the accounts for 1960 had not been audited yet, consideration of the statement of income and expenditure of the Indian History Congress Association for 1960, including the income and expenditure of the History of India Publication Committee, be postponed.

6. Considered the revised budget estimates for 1961 and estimates for 1962, including estimates of the History of India Publication Committee for 1962, presented by the Treasurer.

Resolved that the estimates be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

7. Considered the Annual Report of the Secretary, History of India Publication Committee for 1961.

Resolved that the Report be recommended for adoption at the Annual Business Meeting.

8. Resolved that the following be elected office-bearers of the Indian History Congress for 1962:

President : Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
Vice-Presidents: Dr. U. N. Ghosal.
Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
Secretary : Dr. S. P. Sen.
Joint Secretary: Mr. Mohibbul Hasan.
Treasurer : Dr. Sukumar Ray.

9. (i) Resolved that in view of the special importance of the twenty-fifth session of the Indian History Congress, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru be approached to accept the office of the General President for the next session to be held in December 1962. (The resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously.)

(ii) Resolved further that the following be elected Sectional Presidents for the twenty-fifth session:

Section I : Ancient India : Shri M. N. Deshpande.
Section II : Medieval India : Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.
Section III : Modern India : **Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya.**

10. Resolved that Messrs. Pal and Roy, 2, Church Lane, Calcutta-1, be appointed Auditors for 1961.

11. The Secretary placed before the Committee invitations from two Universities, the University of Poona and the University of Ranchi, to hold the twenty-fifth Session of the Indian History Congress.

Resolved that the invitation from the University of Poona be thankfully accepted.

Resolved further that the authorities of the University of Ranchi be thanked for their kind invitation and that they be requested to hold it over for 1963 or 1964.

12. The Secretary placed before the Committee the following Resolutions proposed by Dr. M. N. Das (Cuttack).

(i) "Resolved that the National Integration Committee be requested on behalf of the Indian History Congress to provide for the promotion of the teaching of Indian History in its broader aspects at all stages of pupils' education all over India".

(ii) "The Indian History Congress recommends to the Indian Universities to give adequate facilities to the post-graduate students of History, who study different periods of Indian History as special papers, to make a field-study of the Indian antiquities, art and architecture at different institutions and places of India as a part of their curriculum.

Resolved that the proposals be recorded.

V. V. MIRASHI,
President,
Indian History Congress.

S. P. SEN,
Secretary,
Indian History Congress.

APPENDIX VII

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1961—DELHI

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held in the Arts Faculty Building, University of Delhi, on Saturday the 30th December, 1961, at 2-30 P.M.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi presided.

The following members were present:

1. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
2. Shri D. G. Mahajan.
3. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
7. Dr. N. K. Sinha.
8. Dr. P. M. Joshi.
9. Sardar Ganda Singh.
10. Prof. K. H. Kamdar.
11. Dr. H. L. Gupta.
12. Dr. H. K. Barpujari.
13. Shri H. V. Trivedi.
14. Dr. K. D. Bajpai.
15. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.
16. Shri B. R. Grover.
17. Shri P. C. Sen.
18. Dr. G. M. Moraes.
19. Dr. R. R. Sethi.
20. Dr. R. K. Parmu.
4. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray.
5. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
6. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
39. Dr. Nurul Hasan.
40. Shri S.A.A. Rizvi.
41. Dr. Satish Chandra.
42. Mr. Iqtidar Alam.
43. Shri Aurobinda Ghosh.
44. Shri Sawaran Kumar Srivastava.
45. Shri Rajendra Bahadur.
46. Shri Hari Charan Dey.
47. Shri G. Dikshit.
48. Dr. Amba Prasad.
49. Shri N. Y. Muranjan.
50. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.
51. Shri U. N. Mukherjee.
52. Shri Krishna Lal Sachdeva.

21. Dr. A. L. Srivastava.
22. Shri Radhakrishna Chowdhury.
23. Shri Sita Ram Singh.
24. Sm. Nasima Dey.
25. Dr. V. R. Deoras.
26. Dr. Puspa Neogi.
27. Shri Amalendu Dey.
28. Shri Kali Charan Karmakar.
29. Shri S. K. Saraswati.
30. Shri Sukumar Mazumdar.
31. Shri Pratapaditya Pal.
32. Shri Adhir Chakravarty.
33. Shri Sailendranath Samanta.
34. Shri Bimalendu De.
35. Shri Jinendra Sena.
36. Shri Gop Chand Verma.
37. Dr. A. R. G. Tiwari.
38. Dr. S. D. Gyani.
53. Dr. Dasaratha Sharma.
54. Shri Santosh Kumar Basu.
55. Mr. Ershad Ali.
56. Dr. Nemai Sadhan Bose.
57. Sm. Sudha Sen Gupta.
58. Shri Sobhan Basu.
59. Sm. Manju Dutt.
60. Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee.
61. Mr. Hedayet Ali.
62. Dr. Sukumar Ray.
63. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
64. Dr. R. N. Chowdhury.
65. Mr. Mohibbul Hasan.
66. Dr. Barun De.
67. Prof. B. R. Kapadia.
68. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.
69. Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra.
70. Shri Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta.
71. Dr. S. P. Sen.

1. The minutes of the last Annual Business Meeting held at Aligarh on December 28, 1960 were read and confirmed.

2. The following condolence resolution was moved from the Chair and passed, all standing.

> "This meeting of the members of the Indian History Congress places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and sudden demise of Professor N. K. Sidhant, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi".

3. Considered the Annual Report of the Indian History Congress Association for the year 1961, presented by the Secretary, as recommended by the Executive Committee.

Resolved that the Report be adopted.

4. Considered the Treasurer's Report for 1961 as recommended by the Executive Committee.

Resolved that the Report be adopted.

5. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar, Treasurer, Indian History Congress for 1960 reported that the accounts for the year 1960 had not been audited.

Resolved that since the accounts for 1960 had not been audited yet, consideration of the statement of income and expenditure of the Indian History Congress Association for 1960, including the estimates of the History of India Publication Committee, be postponed.

6. Considered the revised budget estimate for 1961 and estimates for 1962, including the estimates of the History of India Publication Committee for 1962, as recommended by the Executive Committee.

Resolved that the estimates be approved.

7. Considered the Annual Report for 1961 of the Secretary, History of India Publication Committee as recommended by the Executive Committee.

Resolved that the Report be adopted.

8. (i) The President reported the election by the Executive Committee of the Office-Bearers for 1962:

President : Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
Vice-Presidents: Dr. U. N. Ghosal,
Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
Secretary : Dr. S. P. Sen.
Joint-Secretary: Mr. Mohibbul Hasan.
Treasurer : Dr. Sukumar Ray.

(ii) The President reported that for some very special reasons the name of the President elect for the twenty-fifth session could not be announced.

(iii) The President reported the election by the Executive Committee of the Sectional Presidents for the twenty-fifth session:

Section I:	Ancient India	... Shri M. N. Deshpande.
Section II:	Medieval India	... Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.
Section III:	Modern India	... Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya.

9. The following were elected to the Executive Committee for 1962:

1. Dr. G. M. Moraes.
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
3. Dr. N. K. Sinha.
4. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.
5. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.
6. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
7. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
8. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
9. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
10. Dr. J. N. Banerjea.
11. Dr. S. K. Mitra.
12. Dr. H. L. Gupta.
13. Shri K. N. Dutt.
14. Dr. A. L. Srivastava.

10. The President reported the decision of the Executive Committee to accept with thanks the invitation of the University of Poona to hold the twenty-fifth session of the Indian History Congress at Poona.

11. Considered the Report of the Syllabus and Research Co-ordination Committee presented by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Resolved that the Report be adopted.

12. The following resolution was moved from the Chair and seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.

> "That the Indian History Congress places on record its grateful thanks to the University of Delhi for the kind invitation to hold the twenty-fourth session and its sense of appreciation for the generous hospitality offered by the Reception Committee and the excellent arrangements made for the reception and accommodation of delegates".
>
> The resolution was carried with acclamation.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair.

V. V. Mirashi
President,
Indian History Congress.
Date: 30th December, 1961

S. P. Sen
Secretary,
Indian History Congress.
Date: 30th December, 1961

APPENDIX VIII

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-ORDINATION OF TEACHING & RESEARCH

A Committee consisting of the Heads of Departments of History of various Universities convened by Professor V. V. Mirashi, President of the Indian History Congress, met on 29th December, 1961. After a general discussion it was felt that it would be useful and desirable for the Indian History Congress to consider in what way it could help to remove disparities of standards and to attain some kind of unity and uniformity in the courses of study in various Universities at the Under-Graduate and Post-Graduate levels. The problems of the extent and stages of specialised studies, of placing the study of Indian History in its proper Asian and International perspective, of providing facilities for co-ordinated and integrated research at one or more centres and of avoiding duplication of efforts were discussed. It was decided that in order to study these problems in detail, and to collect necessary information from the various Universities, a sub-committee consisting of the following be appointed and asked to make suitable recommendations for the consideration of the Committee of Heads of Departments of History of various Universities:—

1. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad (Convenor)
2. Dr. N. K. Sinha.
3. Dr. K. K. Pillai.
4. Dr. A. L. Srivastava.
5. Dr. S. Nurul Hasan.
6. Dr. G. M. Moraes.
7. Dr. B. P. Sinha.
8. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
9. Dr. S. P. Sen.

APPENDIX IX

OFFICE BEARERS FOR 1961

President : Dr. U. N. Ghosal.
Vice-Presidents : Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Secretary : Dr. S. P. Sen.
Joint Secretary : Mr. Mohibbul Hasan.
Treasurer : Dr. Sukumar Ray.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR 1961

1. Dr. G. M. Moraes.
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
3. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.
4. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
5. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.
6. Dr. D. C. Sircar.
7. Professor K. H. Kamdar.
8. Dr. K. K. Datta.
9. Professor S. H. Askari.
10. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray.
11. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
12. Dr. B. N. Puri.
13. Shri D. K. Biswas.
14. Dr. V. R. Deoras.

(*The Office Bearers are Ex-Officio members of the Executive Committee*)

PRESIDENTS FOR THE 24TH SESSION

DELHI—DECEMBER, 1961

General President—Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
President, Section I—Dr. B. P. Sinha.
President, Section II—Dr. S. Nurul Hasan.
President, Section III—Dr. S. Gopal.

APPENDIX X

OFFICE-BEARERS ELECTED FOR 1962:

President : Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi
Vice-Presidents : Dr. U. N. Ghoshal
Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar
Secretary : Dr. S. P. Sen
Joint Secretary : Mr. Mohibbul Hasan
Treasurer : Dr. Sukumar Ray

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTED FOR 1962:

Dr. G. M. Moraes
Dr. P. C. Gupta
Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
Dr. A. C. Banerjee
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
Dr. J. N. Banerjea
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

Shri K. N. Dutt
Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Dr. S. K. Mitra
Dr. M. Rama Rao
Dr. A. L. Srivastava
Dr. N. K. Sinha
Dr. H. L. Gupta

(The Office-bearers are ex-officio members of the Executive Committee)

PRESIDENTS ELECTED FOR THE 25TH SESSION

General President—Shri Amalananda Ghosh
Section I (Ancient Period)—Shri M. N. Deshpande
Section II (Medieval Period)—Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
Section III (Modern Period)—Dr. S. Bhattacharya

APPENDIX XI

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1961.

RECEIPTS	Rs. nP.	PAYMENTS		Rs. nP.
Membership Fees ...	7,540.00	Salaries ...	540.00	
Donation ...	1,000.00	Printing & Stationery	482.61	
Miscellaneous Income ...	31.70	Postage & Telegrams ...	470.54	
		Packing & Freight Charges ...	87.42	
		Travelling & Conveyance ...	231.50	
		Bank Charges ...	36.20	1,848.27
		Furniture ...		31.50
		United Bank of India Ltd.:		
		Deposit ...	5,703.10	
		Less Withdrawals ...	488.20	5,214.90
		Cash in hand (as certified)		1,477.03
	8,571.70			8,571.70

2, Church Lane,
CALCUTTA-1.
Dated the 4th March, 1963.

Examined and found correct.
PAUL & RAY,
Chartered Accountants.
(Sealed)

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

APPENDIX XII

LIST OF PATRONS AND MEMBERS—DELHI SESSION—1961.

Patrons :

1. Shri Harekrushna Mahatab, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
2. Shri Sri Prakash, Governor, Maharashtra State, Government House, Bombay.

Life Members :

1. Shri K. M. Ahmed, Curator, Museum, Hyderabad (Dn.).
2. Kum. Padma A. Altekar, C/o, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
3. Shri M. S. Aney, Lakshmi Niwas, 382, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
4. Dr. A. C. Banerjee, 5, Jadu Mitra Lane, Calcutta-4.
5. Dr. H. K. Barpujari, Professor of History, Cotton College, Banhali, Ujanbazar, Gauhati (Assam).
6. Dr. Dharma Bhanu, Professor of History, Government College of Arts and Science, Indore (M.P.).
7. Dr. Bool Chand, Collector, District Rajgarh, Binore (M.P.).
8. Professor R. N. Chaudhuri, Professor of History, India Aid Mission, P. O. Indian Embassy, Kathmandu, Nepal.
9. Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, 39, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-9.
10. Shri Ajoyendra Krishna Deb, 25, Shampukur Street, Calcutta-4.
11. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi, Research Scholar, Navasari, Western Railway.
12. Shri Sohan Lal Dugar, Halidon Ka Rasta, Johari Bazar, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
13. Sm. Renu Ghosh, Professor, Women's College, Cuttack, Orissa.
14. Shri P. R. Gokhale, 252/6, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
15. Dr. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, 3, Mansingh Road, New Delhi-11.
16. Dr. H. L. Gupta, History Department, Saugor University, Saugor (M.P.).
17. Syed Nurul Hasan, Head of the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.
18. Prof. Jagannath, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Punjab University, Chandigarh-3.
19. Dr. P. V. Kane, Angre's Wadi, Bombay-4.
20. Shri G. K. Kanoria, 79, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta-6.
21. Shri Krishna Lal Sachdeva, Lecturer, M. G. N. Inter-College, Gali Bohran, Jalesar, District: Etah. U.P.
22. Dr. N. N. Law, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9.
23. Professor Yogendra Misra, Patna College, Patna-5.
24. Professor P. N. Mukherjee, 2, Vishnu Road, Dehra Dun, U.P.
25. Dr. K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupati, Bombay-7.
26. Smt. Ratna Nandy, 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9.
27. Maharaj Kumar S. C. Nandy, 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9.
28. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Department of Education, University of Ceylon, Perdeniya (Ceylon).
29. Professor A. B. Pande, Department of History, Hindu University, Varanasi-5.
30. Dr. R. B. Pande, Principal, College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi-5.
31. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.
32. Professor M. J. Pathakji, Havadia Chakla, Surat.

33. Sardar A. A. Salinkey Patil, Collector, Damoh (M.P.).
34. Shri L. R. Pendharkar, Studio Miscellanee, Panch Batti, M. Ismail Road, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
35. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, Ganeshkhind, Poona-7. (Maharashtra).
36. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, 68/4/A, Purna Das Road, Calcutta-29.
37. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Orissa.
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39. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma, Lecturer, S. K. B. R. College, Amalapuram, E. G. District, South India.
40. Professor Rama Saran Sarma, Department of History, Patna College, Patna-5.
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43. Shri Jitendra Sena, C/o, Malwa Sugar Co. Ltd., Dhuri, Punjab.
44. Dr. R. R. Sethi, 103, Golf Links, New Delhi.-3.
45. Shri S. M. Shukla, Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, Bombay-5.
46. Sardar Gana Singh, Director of Archives, Patiala.
47. Shri Kuldip Singh, Librarian, Government Agricultural College & Research Institute, Ludhiana, Punjab.
48. Thakur Batuk Singh, Financial Adviser, River Valley Project Department, Government of Bihar, New Secretariat, Patna, Bihar.
49. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau, (M.P.).
50. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor of History, Agra College, Agra.
51. Shri K. L. Srivastava, Principal Government Degree College, Dewas (M.P.).
52. Shri Gopichand Verma, Department of History, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur, Rajasthan.
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Barpujari, Sri S. K., Ujanbazar, Gauhati, Assam.
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Chattopadhyay, Sri Atri Kumar, 2/1A, Jogesh Mitter Road, Calcutta-25.
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Chaudhury, Professor Radha Krishna, Vice-Principal, and Head of the Department of History, G. D. College, Begusari, Bihar.
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Chhabra, Dr. B. Ch., Joint Director General of Archaeology, Office of the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi.

Chhabra, Dr. G. S., Ramgarhia College Phaguara, Punjab.
Chopra, Dr. P. N., Gazetteers Units, Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.
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D

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Das, Dr. M. N., Professor of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack-3, Orissa.
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De, Mrs. Naseema, 75A, Salimpur Lane, Calcutta-31.
De, Sri R. K., C/o, Dr. S. K. De, Bank Area, Jamshedpur-1.
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Desai, Dr. P. B., Department of History, Karnatak University, Dharwar.
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Desai, Dr. Z. A., Superintendent, Persian & Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Old High Court Building, Nagpur-1.
Deshpande, Sri M. N., Deputy Director General of Archaeology, Janapath, New Delhi-11.
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Devi, Sm. K. Sarojini, G-12, Miranda House Hostel, Delhi-6.
Devi, Dr. V. Yasoda, Department of History, S. V. University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh.
Dey, Sm. Bani, C/o, Sri Sachindra Nath Dey, Sanskrit College Library, 1, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.
Dey, Sri Bijanbehari, C/o, Y. M. C. A., 138, Keshab Sen Street, Calcutta-9.
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Dhaul, Miss Urmila, M.A., Lecturer in History, Lady Sri Ram College, 24-D, Market Square (Near Cola Market), New Delhi.

Dikshit, Sri G. K., Vidyani Degree College, Lucknow.
Dikshit, Mrs. P. K., C/o, Dr. R. K. Dikshit, Aryanagar, Lucknow.
Dikshit, Dr. R. K, Hony. Secretary, G. P. Historical Society, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
Dikshit, Sri S. K., Dy. Director of Archaeology & Museum, Government of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal (M.P.).
Dotiwala, Sri F. R., Lecturer in Social Studies, National Defence Academy, Khadakusla, Poona.
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Dutt,,Sri O. N., Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Thaneswar, Punjab.

E

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F

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Fozdar, Sri Labit R., Sri Kunj, Navarangpura Road, Ahmedabad-9.

G

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